

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



SEPTEMBER, 1953

In Memoriam
James Thayer Addison
Priest and Doctor

***"Early Anglican Thought
1559-1667"***

By JAMES THAYER ADDISON

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PREFACE
FOREWORD

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- I. THE SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY
 - II. THE CHURCH
 - III. EPISCOPACY AND THE OTHER ORDERS
 - IV. THE EUCHARIST
-

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
A LIST OF WORKS CITED IN THE NOTES

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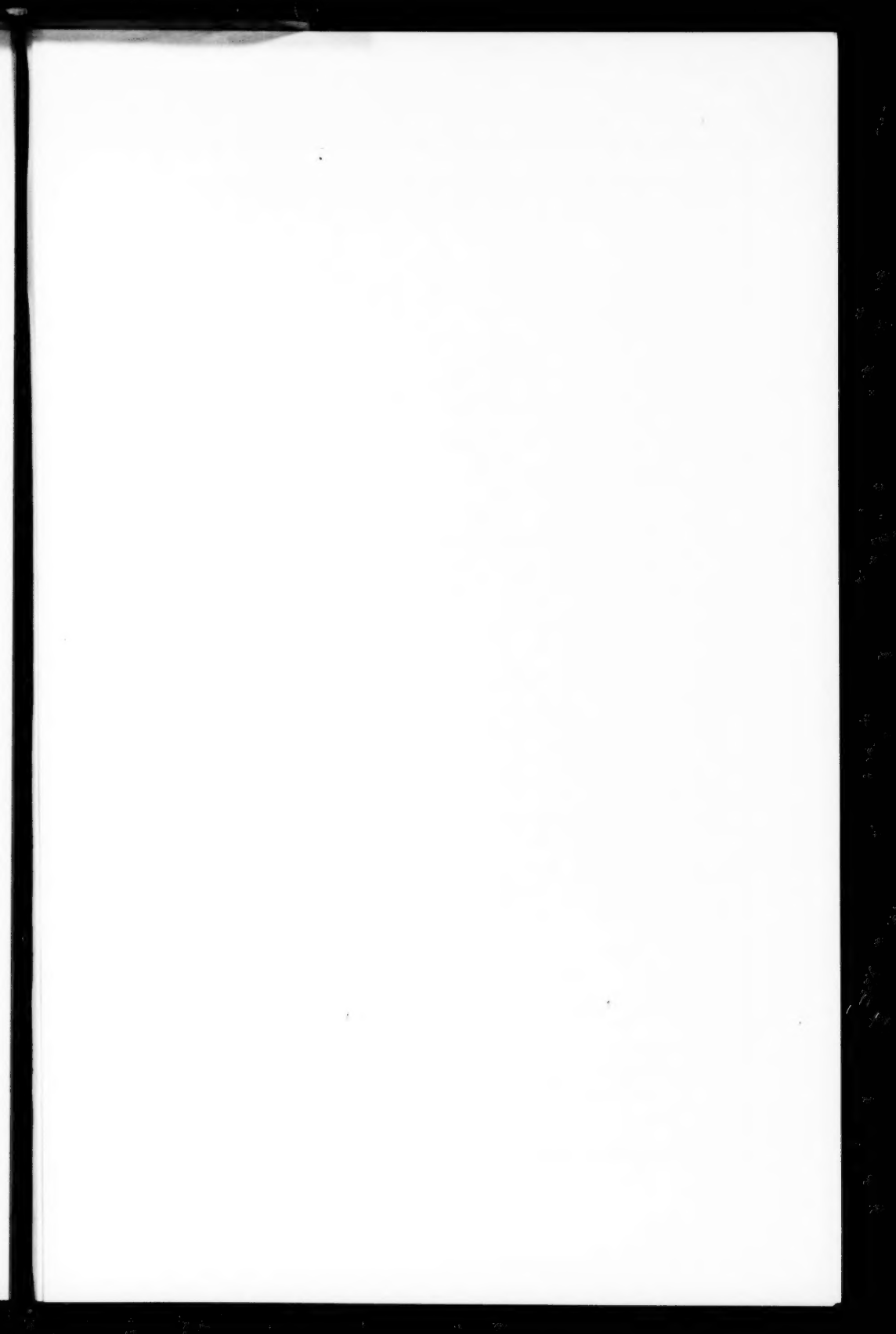
NOTE: The Editors are indebted to the Reverend Powel Mills Dawley, Ph. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, General Theological Seminary, New York City, for giving this essay a "technical reading," at the request of the author before the latter's death.

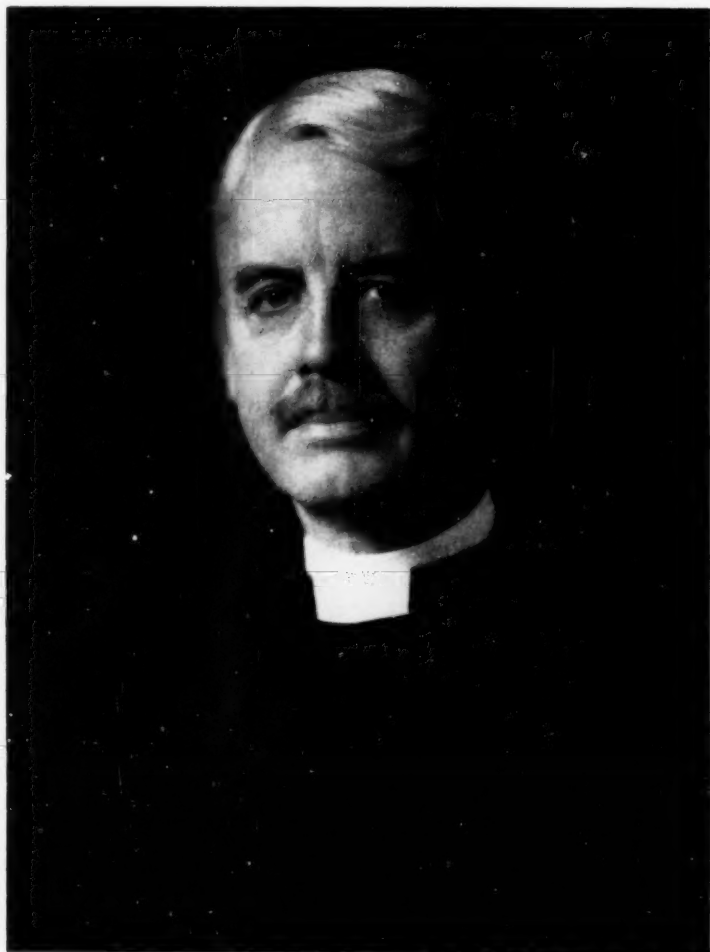
THIS NUMBER IS DEDICATED TO

The Reverend
John Heuss, D.D., S.T.D.

**Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church
in the City of New York**

**IN APPRECIATION OF HIS WARM INTEREST AND
GENEROUS BENEFACTION WHICH MADE
IT POSSIBLE**





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THE REVEREND J. THAYER ADDISON, D.D.

[March 21, 1887-February 13, 1953]

**Professor of the History of Religion and Missions, Episcopal
Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts,
1919-1940**

**Vice-President of the National Council of the Episcopal Church,
with supervision of its overseas missionary work,
1940-1947**

JAMES THAYER ADDISON

WAS born on March 21, 1887, in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, the son of the Reverend Charles Morris Addison, D. D. (1856-1947), and Ada (Thayer). His father was a leading liturgiologist of his generation, who, with the Reverend J. W. Suter, Sr., compiled the *Book of Offices and Prayers*, (1896), *Prayers for Parents and Children* (1900), *A Book of Offices for Special Occasions* (1904), and other works.

After graduating from Harvard in 1909, J. Thayer Addison spent a year in China as Assistant Professor in St. John's College, Shanghai. Returning to America in 1910, he entered the Episcopal Theological School, and received the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1913.

On June 7, 1913, he was ordered deacon by Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts, and on December 13th of the same year he was ordained priest by Bishop Theodore P. Thurston of the Missionary District of Eastern Oklahoma, now a part of the Diocese of Oklahoma.

To his first-hand knowledge of the foreign missionary field, gained in China, was now added two years' experience in the domestic field as missionary in charge of St. Mark's Church, Nowata, and St. Paul's Church, Claremore, Oklahoma.

For twenty-five years, 1915-1940, Dr. Addison was a member of the faculty of the Episcopal Theological School, first as Lecturer in the History of Religion and Missions, 1915-1918, and then as Professor of the same subject, 1919-1940. On December 18, 1917, he married Margaret B. Crocker. His teaching was interrupted during World War I, when he served as Chaplain to the First Gas Regiment, A. E. F.

In 1917 he received the degree of Master of Sacred Theology from the Harvard Divinity School, and in 1931 the Virginia Theological Seminary conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Before leaving Cambridge, Dr. Addison's gifts as a scholar and writer received expression in the following publications:

Story of the First Gas Regiment (1919)
Chinese Ancestor Worship (1925)
Our Father's Business (1927)

Our Expanding Church (1930)—written for the Field Department of the National Council of the Episcopal Church—a classic of its kind, which is still widely used.

Life Beyond Death (1932)

The Way of Christ (1934).

The Medieval Missionary (1936).

The Lord's Prayer (1937)

Parables of Our Lord (1939)

Christian Approach to the Moslem (1942)

Dr. Addison's service on the Joint Commission of the General Convention on Strategy and Policy, 1937-1940, was outstanding. His brochure written for that Commission, *Why Missions?*, was deservedly popular and widely distributed.

In 1940 Dr. Addison was called as Vice-President of the National Council and director of its Overseas Department, with supervision of the Church's missionary work in China, Japan, the Philippines, Liberia, and Latin America. Under the strain of this work, his health broke, and he resigned and took up residence in Boston.

The years of his retirement, however, were exceedingly fruitful from the standpoint of the Church's productive scholarship. In 1948, *The Completeness of Christ* appeared, and in 1951 his highly praised standard history—

The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (pages xii, 400), which was extensively reviewed in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XX (1951), pp. 44-58.

Meanwhile, Dr. Addison had been studying intensively the period of the Caroline Divines, and *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* considers itself honored that through its columns the fruits of his labor have been made available to others:

"Lord Falkland (1610-1643): Liberal Layman in the Age of the Stuarts," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIX (1950), pp. 179-201.

"William Laud, Prelate and Champion of Order," *ibid.*, XXI (1952), pp. 17-61.

"Thomas Fuller, Historian and Humorist," *ibid.*, XXI (1952), pp. 100-147.

"Jeremy Taylor, Preacher and Pastor," *ibid.*, XXI (1952), pp. 148-190.

The ecomiums from many sources, both clerical and lay, which greeted the above essays have been most gratifying.

The current (September) number of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is devoted to Dr. Addison's 45,000-word essay,

"Early Anglican Thought, 1559-1667."

Dr. Addison died at his home in Boston on February 13, 1953, aged 65 years.

He is survived by his wife, two daughters—Helen C. (wife of the Rt. Rev. Robert McConnell Hatch, Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut) and Martha L. (wife of the Rev. Samuel Norman McCain, Jr., of the Diocese of Kansas)—and five grandchildren.

To know James Thayer Addison was to love him, and to be a guest in his home was a delight never to be forgotten. As with all great Christian teachers and missionaries, something of his kindly, loving spirit and his simple deep devotion was caught by hundreds who knew him or studied under him.

"Rest eternal grant unto him, O Lord,
And may light perpetual shine upon him!"

Tribute of the Editor of "Forward—day-by-day"

Dr. Addison wrote more issues of *Forward—day-by-day*, the most influential publication of our Church's Forward Movement, than any other contributor—all anonymously. Below is the tribute of the editor of that publication, in the "Late Trinity, 1953," issue:

JAMES THAYER ADDISON

In Memoriam

It is nine months now since God called James Thayer Addison into higher service in His kingdom. Yet we have special and sufficient reason for an In Memoriam note in this issue of *Forward—day-by-day*. He wrote it, as he had written many others in the course of the life of the Forward Movement. Indeed, he wrote more issues than any other contributor, and was so ready to write and so devoted to our work that he left copy for two more issues—for Lent, 1954, and for Late Trinity, 1955. And we are indebted to him not only for these, but also for assisting in the production of *Prayers New and Old*, and for three notable booklets: *The Way of Christ*, *The Living Sacrifice*, and *The Way to Peace of Mind*. To an editor his copy was a joy and a cause for gratitude, since he prepared every manuscript with meticulous care, never strayed from the essential truth he was presenting, and always had his material ready well before the date requested. Many are the readers who have sent letters of thanks for the help they have received from his writings. It is safe to say that few men have left a greater sense of loss behind them throughout the Church, and we miss him perhaps most of all. As we read this issue let us thank God for him, realizing fully that "he being dead yet speaketh."

Early Anglican Thought 1559-1667

By

James Thayer Addison

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II. The Church


III. The Episcopacy and the Other Orders

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Preface

 HIS ESSAY on early Anglicanism is based on a study of the works of eighteen theologians, who wrote between the enactment of the Act of Supremacy in 1559 and the death of Jeremy Taylor in 1667. The representative divines whom I have chosen are: John Jewel, John Whitgift, Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Field, William Laud, Joseph Hall, James Ussher, John Hales, Robert Sanderson, John Bramhall, John Cosin, Herbert Thorndike, William Chillingworth, Henry Hammond, Jeremy Taylor, Benjamin Whichcote, and Edward Stillingfleet. Biographical notes concerning them will be found at the end.

By deliberate design, I have made the book a mosaic of quotations set in a framework of introduction and interpretation, in order that the leaders of Anglican thought, so far as possible, may speak for themselves.

Except in the case of a few official documents, I have modernized spelling, punctuation and capitalization.

J. THAYER ADDISON.

Foreword


THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND is as old as Christianity in Britain, but "Anglicanism" is the result of the Reformation. It may be defined as that form of Catholic Christianity which was evolved in England as the result of the changes in the national Church wrought in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. More specifically, it is the type of Christianity which we find in that national Church after the "Elizabethan Settlement," and which has been developing ever since in all English-speaking lands through four centuries of history. When we speak of "Anglican thought," then, we mean the religious product of Anglican minds beginning with the reign of the great Queen. And at the risk of being too artificially definite, we may take the year 1559 as our earliest date, for it was then that the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity were enacted, and it was then that Parliament authorized a Book of Common Prayer which was to remain unaltered for a century.

The works of Anglican theologians, both in earlier and in later times, covered a wide range of subjects; but in any study of Anglicanism the areas of thought that most deserve emphasis are those in which Anglicanism has a characteristic offering to make. Since from the beginning it appears as a *via media* between Romanism and Continental Protestantism, its special contribution is to be found where it differs from both. Leaders in the Church of England wrote about the Trinity and the Incarnation and the resurrection of the dead, but their doctrinal beliefs were in agreement with both Roman Catholic and Protestant teaching, for these dogmas were not the critical points of controversy. Nor was there anything typically Anglican about their convictions regarding heaven and hell or the Atonement, for on these topics they were generally at one with orthodox Protestants.

The contributions of Anglicanism become both characteristic and permanently valuable when they indicate and illustrate the central position of the Church which produced them—in other words, when they register convictions at variance with the dogmas both of Rome and of Geneva. Among these truly Anglican subjects we may name (1) the sources of religious authority, (2) the nature of the Church, particularly of the Church of England, (3) episcopacy, and (4) the Eucharist. It is to these points of doctrine that our survey will be confined.

Chapter I

The Sources of Religious Authority

HEN we undertake to review the thought of Anglican theologians on the fundamental subject of the sources of religious authority, we need to remember how their use of certain terms differs from our own. To an extent surprising to the modern mind, they defined religion in terms of *belief*, and they interpreted revelation in terms of *propositions*. Faith is thus commonly regarded as the acceptance of *credal articles*. Moreover, "salvation" means primarily escaping hell and attaining to heaven. Though of course a certain level of moral character is required for salvation, it is equally true that belief in a certain number of propositions is absolutely necessary; and hell can be the portion not only of him who dies unrepentant in mortal sin but also of him who denies one or more of the requisite dogmas. To put it in a word, the whole conception of Christianity, as compared with a modern thought, is notably *intellectual*. This trait, however, is not especially Anglican, for it marks both sides of all controversies of that age.

1. Scripture

When leaders of thought in the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth wanted to express their convictions about the sources of religious authority they were not without official guidance. By the Act of Supremacy passed in 1559, the Crown in Parliament had openly declared what were the sources of religious authority. Dealing with the question of identifying heresy, the act pronounced that no one should have power

"to adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general Councils, or any of them, or by any other general Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express or plain words of the said canonical Scriptures . . ."¹

¹ Elizabeth, cap 1.

The Supremacy of Scripture

The highest authority in the land here affirms that the sole final court of appeal in determining religious truth is the Scriptures. In the same year there was legally prescribed for use the revised Book of Common Prayer, which contained in the Office for "the Ordering of Priests" the following question and answer:

"Be you persuaded that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined with the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge and to teach nothing (as required of necessity to eternal salvation) but that you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?"

Ans. I am so persuaded, and have so determined by God's grace."

Here again the one final test of religious truth is conformity with holy Scripture.

With Parliament and Prayer Book on record as not only affirming this teaching but demanding its acceptance, it is natural that throughout the coming century of Anglican thought the Bible should be universally proclaimed as the prime and ultimate source of religious authority. On no single point of doctrine is agreement more clearly unanimous. But this general consensus was not the result of docile conformity to Parliamentary enactments or liturgical requirements. On the contrary, it was the unanimous agreement of all thoughtful English Christians, both clerical and lay, which produced the law and the liturgy. In proclaiming the supremacy of Scripture by its acts, Parliament reflected rather than coerced public opinion. For it was universally recognized that for all Protestants, not only Continental but Anglican, the teaching of the Bible was the final test of truth.

Still further to emphasize officially the supreme position of Scripture, the Thirty-nine Articles repeat the same belief. Eight years after their composition in 1563, subscription to them was made compulsory for all the clergy by Act of Parliament. Article VI, entitled "Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," reads as follows:

"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that is should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

There is then added a list of the books accepted as canonical, to which is appended a list of the books constituting the Apocrypha. But of these it is said,

"And the other books (as Hierome [Jerome] saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine."

And this sharp distinction between the two groups of books is steadily maintained by all Anglican writers, and figures often in their controversies with Rome.

The Infallibility of the Bible

The Church of England was thus wholly committed to the supremacy of Scripture; and whatever variations became evident among her thinkers during the next hundred years, they were at one upon that point. They were likewise unanimous in regarding the Bible not only as the highest authority but as an *infallible* authority. Though neither Prayer Book nor articles so declare, all Christians with any pretence to orthodoxy believed the Scriptures to be so inspired by the Holy Spirit as to be verbally inerrant. "Every passage thus possessed an authority equal to that of any other." Here was a fundamental belief common to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans.

Though we are more concerned, in the long run, with the points wherein the Anglican attitude toward the Scriptures differed from the Protestant and the Roman, it is important first to illustrate the continuous Anglican emphasis upon biblical authority. Among the earliest writers to bear witness is John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury.² In his *Treatise of the Holy Scriptures* he declares,

"The Scriptures are the word of God. What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority than to say, 'The Lord hath spoken them?' that 'they came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?' " . . . "As the Word of God is the light to direct us and to bewray errors, so is it also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood."³

Equally clear is the message of John Whitgift, later Archbishop of Canterbury. "I do firmly believe that only the books of the canonical Scripture are of that absoluteness and perfection that nothing may

²Biographical date for authors quoted will be found in an Appendix, and the full titles of all works cited will be found in the Bibliography.

³*Works*, V11, 287, 300.

be taken away from them, nothing added to them."⁴ Whitgift, too, offers many illustrations of that "proof-test" method, which the dogma of verbal infallibility encourages. To prove, for example, that it is right and proper in Elizabethan England for the same person to hold both ecclesiastical and civil offices, he cites the case of Melchizedek who was a priest and at the same time King of Salem. And in answer to the Puritan objection that it was wrong for bishops to have prisons, he refers to the fact that St. Peter punished Ananias and Sapphira with death, and points out that death is a penalty more grievous than imprisonment.⁵

Though Richard Hooker's chief contribution was his exposition of the value of sources of authority other than the Bible, he is naturally as sound as any other Anglican in his estimate of the supremacy of Scripture. Of "all those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of Holy Writ," he says, "they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all if we did want it."⁶

Quotations to this effect from seventeenth century theologians might easily fill a volume, but a few from different decades will suffice. Richard Field, for one, testifies that

"the Scripture is infallibly true, as inspired immediately from the Spirit of truth, securing the writers of it from error. . . . Immediate revelation was without mixture of error, there being no imperfection found in any of God's immediate workings. . . . Whatsoever books they wrote, to whom that immediate revelation of heavenly truth was granted, are divine, without mixture of error, and canonical."⁷

Bishop Laud, in his conference with the Jesuit whose pseudonym was Fisher, took the position that

"the Church of England grounded her positive Articles upon Scripture. . . . Not the Church of England only, but all Protestants agree most truly and strongly in this: 'That the Scripture is sufficient to salvation and contains in it all things necessary to it.'"⁸

⁴*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, in *Works*, I, 173.

⁵*Answer to the Admonition*, *Works*, III, 440, 447.

⁶*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. I, XIII, 3.

⁷*Of the Church*, II, 432; IV, 497.

⁸*Relation of Conference between Laud and Fisher*, *Works* II, 61.

William Chillingworth, since the thesis of his *Religion of Protestants* depends on the infallibility of the Bible, is ready to assert,

"I believe all those books of Scripture which the Church of England accounts canonical, to be the infallible word of God. I believe all things evidently contained in them, all things evidently, or even probably deducible from them."⁹

In later years Jeremy Taylor, in one of his anti-Roman works, maintains that

"the truth, fulness and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith and manners, is the principle that I and all Protestants rely upon. . . . The Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God, is therefore certain, because we have no other."¹⁰

And even the "Platonist" Benjamin Whichcote, with all his emphasis upon reason, is prepared to acknowledge, "I should give a great deal too little to the wisdom of God in Scripture if I should not think it, without any human supplement, sufficient."¹¹

Though most of the divines in this period realize that some proof ought to be offered for the dogma of the infallibility of the Bible, few deal with the subject thoroughly. For this frequent inadequacy of treatment the reason cannot be found in any doubts about the doctrine. On the contrary, it is probably to be accounted for by the fact that they were very seldom writing for sceptics, and all but sceptics believed in the inerrancy of Scripture. There was therefore no use in wasting energy in the effort to prove an axiom.

There was general recognition that you cannot prove the infallibility of the Bible by quoting the book itself, for the Scripture nowhere explicitly declares its own infallibility. Hooker was among the first to state this truth clearly.

"Scripture," he wrote, "teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself [i. e., in the Scriptures] we cannot say is evident. . . . Scripture teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise that itself is divine and sacred."¹²

⁹*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 16f.

¹⁰*Dissuasive from Popery, Works*, VI, 291, 380.

¹¹*First Letter in Aphorisms, etc.*, 12.

¹²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, VIII, 13.

Or, more briefly, "It is not the word of God which doth or possibly can assure us that we do well to think it his word."¹³ As Field expressed it neatly,

"We may prove the authority of the Scripture by the Church to him that is already persuaded of the Church; and of the Church by the Scripture to him that is persuaded of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth of both we must bring other reasons."¹⁴

Laud, too, makes the same point in his controversy with the Jesuit: "All other necessary points of divinity may, by undeniable discourse, be inferred out by Scripture itself, once admitted; but this, concerning the authority of Scripture, not possibly."¹⁵

If, then, the Bible does not and cannot testify to its own unerring authority, how can we be certain that it is infallible? A somewhat meagre answer is offered by Herbert Thorndike, who writes that "the miracles done by those from whom we have the Scriptures is the only motive to show that they came from God, and therefore . . . we are obliged to receive what they preached, and by consequences the Scriptures that contain it."¹⁶ More frequently offered is the obvious proof afforded by universal acceptance. The most solid support of our faith in biblical authority, so it is declared, is *tradition*.

Jeremy Taylor may here speak on behalf of a score of fellow-divines. Writing of the Gospels he says,

" . . . These having been for fifteen hundred years and more received absolutely by all Christian assemblies, if any man shall offer to make a question of their authority, he must declare his reasons, for the disciples of the religion have sufficient presumption, security, and possession, till they can be reasonably disturbed; but that now they can never be is infinitely certain, because we have a long, immemorial, universal tradition that these books were written in those times, by those men whose names they bear; they were accepted by all churches at the very first notice . . . they were acknowledged by the same, and by the next age for genuine, their authority published, their words cited, appeals made to them in all questions of religion, because it was known and confessed that they wrote nothing but that they knew, so that they were not deceived . . . "¹⁷

¹³*Op. cit.*, Bk. II, IV, 2.

¹⁴*Of the Church*, II, 412.

¹⁵*Works*, II, 124.

¹⁶*Of the Principles of Christian Truth, Works*, II, Pt. I, 43.

¹⁷*Ductor Dubitantium, Works*, IX, 167.

Even more clear is his later statement in *A Dissuasive from Popery*:

"No man enquires whether the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation unless he believe that there are Scriptures, that these are they, and that they are the word of God: all this comes to us by tradition—that is, by universal, undeniable testimony."¹⁸

As we shall soon discover, in considering the Anglican attitude toward tradition in general, English theologians were not greatly impressed by tradition unless it was unanimous or nearly unanimous. To the Romanists Chillingworth retorted, "Neither is that true which you pretend, that we possess the Scripture from you, or take it upon the integrity of your custody; but upon universal tradition, of which you are but a little part."¹⁹ There is no doubt, however, in the minds of Anglican divines that the tradition supporting Scripture as the word of God is uniform. Laud was expressing a general conviction when he maintained that if by tradition was meant

"the speech . . . of the prime Christian Church, the Apostles, disciples, and such as had immediate revelation from heaven; no question but the voice and tradition of this Church is divine . . . and the word of God from them is of like validity, written or delivered. And against this tradition, of which kind this, That the books of Scriptures are the word of God, is the most general and uniform, the Church of England never excepted."²⁰

And from the vigorous pen of John Bramhall, writing in exile before he was Archbishop of Armagh, there comes the same assurance:

"We have the perpetual, constant, universal tradition of the Catholic Church of Christ, ever since Christ himself did tread upon the face of the earth. This is so clear a proof of the universal reception of the Bible for the genuine word of God that there cannot justly be any more doubt made of it than whether there ever was a William the Conqueror or not."²¹

While it is undeniable that the Bible does not testify to its own divinity in so many words, and men look to tradition to confirm their faith in its infallibility, it still remains true that the quality of its contents is such as to proclaim it the word of God. It offers abundant internal evidence of its divine character. In agreement with this truth, which Protestants were wont to emphasize, Field confesses,

¹⁸*Works*, VI, 413.

¹⁹*Religion of Protestants*, *Works*, 90.

²⁰*Conference between Laud and Fisher*, *Works*, II, 93.

²¹*Castigations of Mr. Hobbes' Animadversions*, *Works*, IV, 330.

"I know the Scriptures to be inspired of God by the divine force and majesty that sheweth itself in them; in which sense I say the books of Scripture win credit of themselves, and yield sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth. For as the color of each thing maketh it visible and to be seen, so the divine power and virtue that sheweth itself in the Scripture maketh us to believe that it is of God."²²

But this testimony of the Scripture to itself, speaking directly to the hearts of believers, is not an alternative to tradition, for both are needed in normal Christian experience. How they are related to each other Laud explains in a passage of true insight:

"After tradition of the present Church hath taught and informed the soul, the voice of God is plainly heard in Scripture itself. And then here is double authority, and both divine, that confirms Scripture to be the word of God:—Tradition of the Apostles delivering it, and the internal worth and argument in the Scripture, obvious to a soul prepared by the present Church's tradition and God's grace."²³

Precisely the same point is made by Chillingworth who notes that while the first motive leading men to trust the Bible is the authority of the Church, "afterwards, the more we bestow our labor upon reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it; so that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason."²⁴ In other words, authority leads to experience, and experience confirms authority.

The part played by *reason* in convincing us that the Bible is divine in origin is not often touched upon. Hooker, as might be expected, emphasizes it. "Scripture indeed," he writes, "teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason that the Scripture is the word of God."²⁵ Laud, too, acknowledged that reason, enlightened by grace, can supply grounds for faith in the divinity of Scripture,²⁶ though "it doth service enough if it enable us to disprove that which misguided men conceive against it."²⁷ If pressed with the question, however, probably all the divines of this era would have agreed that reason is not to be listed as one among the various proofs of scrip-

²²*Of the Church*, IV, 481.

²³*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works*, II, 98.

²⁴*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 103.

²⁵*Ecc. Pol. Bk. III, VIII, 12.*

²⁶*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works*, II, 87-89.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 93.

tural authority. Rather is it an instrument by which we assess the value of these proofs. Yet in the last analysis there would be further agreement that utter confidence in the plenary inspiration of the Bible cannot be attained purely by the exercise of reason. It is our faith that sustains it. This truth is nowhere set forth more impressively than in a passage by Laud, which at the same time sums up the soundest Anglican teaching on the divine authority of Scripture:

"The credit of Scripture to be divine," he maintains, "resolves finally into that faith which we have touching God himself, and in the same order. For as that, so this, hath three main grounds, to which all other are reducible. The first is the tradition of the Church: and this leads us to a reverend persuasion of it. The second is the light of Nature [i. e., reason]: and this shows us how necessary such a revealed learning is, and that no other way it can be had. . . . The third is the light of the Text itself: in conversing wherewith we meet with the Spirit of God inwardly inclining our hearts and sealing the full assurance of the sufficiency of all three unto us. And then, and not before, we are certain that the Scripture is the word of God, both by divine and by infallible proof. But our certainty is by faith, and so voluntary: not by knowledge of such principles as in the light of Nature can enforce assent, whether we will or no."²⁸

What Authority Should Interpret the Scriptures?

Though the Church of England, the Church of Rome, and the Churches of Continental Protestantism were agreed that the Scriptures were infallible, they were not agreed as to what authority should interpret the Scriptures. Yet all were obliged to acknowledge that at many points the Bible certainly needed explanation. In the words of Whitgift,

"... There is nothing necessary to eternal life which is not both 'commanded' and 'expressed' in the Scripture. I count it 'expressed' when it is either in manifest words contained in Scripture, or thereof gathered by necessary collection."²⁹

It is these matters which must be "gathered by necessary collection"—drawn, that is, by compelling inference—which call for interpretation. It is here that the element of human authority inevitably enters in. No one recognized this more readily than Hooker, who more than once reminded his Puritan opponents that even "the force of arguments drawn from the authority of Scripture itself . . . shall (being sifted) be found

²⁸*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works, II, 130.*

²⁹*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 178.*

to depend upon the strength of this so much despised and debased authority of man."³⁰

A few theologians are content to say, with Calvin, that we must depend for reliable interpretation upon "the internal testimony of the Spirit." Bishop Jewel, for instance, asserts that "it is true, as the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they be expounded by the same. For without that Spirit we have neither ears to hear nor eyes to see. . . ."³¹ An almost identical statement may be found in a sermon by John Hales, published nearly a century later than Jewel's *Defence*.

"There can . . . be but two certain and infallible interpreters of Scripture," Hales declared—"either itself or the Holy Ghost, the Author of it. Itself doth then expound itself when the words and circumstances do sound unto us the prime and natural and principal sense. But when the place is obscure, involved, and intricate, or when there is contained some secret and hidden mystery, beyond the prime sense; infallibly to show us this, there can be no interpreter but the Holy Ghost that gave it."³²

But this trustful reference to the work of the Holy Spirit is not often expressed, perhaps because it was realized that it was not easy to distinguish between interpretation by the Spirit and interpretation by private judgment—which generally claimed the Spirit as authority. And private judgment, when recognized as merely such, was commonly looked at askance. One reason for this doubt was acutely pointed out by Jeremy Taylor who wrote in his *Liberty of Prophesying* that

"men do not learn their doctrines from Scripture, but come to the understanding of Scripture with preconceptions and ideas of doctrines of their own; and then no wonder that Scriptures look like pictures, wherein every man in the room believes they look on him only. . . ."³³

More characteristic of Anglicanism is the effort to avoid the dangers of individualism and to affirm that since there is much in Scripture which calls for authoritative interpretation, men must look for such necessary aid to the Church. Bramhall speaks definitely of "the infallible rule of faith, that is, the holy Scripture interpreted by the Catholic Church."³⁴ Taylor, in his later years as bishop, gives this advice to his clergy:

³⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. II, VII, 9.

³¹*Defence of the Apology, Works*, IV, 282.

³²*Golden Remains* (Ed. 1659), 15.

³³*Works*, V, 426.

³⁴Preface to *Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works*, II, 22.

"Every minister ought to be careful that he never expound Scriptures in public contrary to the known sense of the Catholic Church, and particularly of the Churches of England and Ireland, nor introduce any doctrine against any of the four first General Councils; for these, as they are measures of truth, so also of necessity. . . ."²⁵

And Laud expresses the same view with his usual clarity:

"According to Christ's institution, the Scripture, where it is plain, should guide the Church; and the Church, where there is doubt or difficulty, should expound the Scripture; yet so as neither the Scripture should be forced, nor the Church so bound up as that upon just and farther evidence she may not revise that which in any case hath slipped by her."²⁶

This last sentence reveals the further fact that in Laud's mind the Church's interpretation of Scripture, though authoritative, is not infallible. In fact it is subject to revision. Taylor recognized the same distinction when he wrote, "There is no rule, no limit, no certain principle by which all men may be guided to a certain and so infallible an interpretation . . . in places of controversy or ambiguity."²⁷ And the liberal Hales is still more explicit and sweeping in his assertion that

"infallibility either in judgment, or interpretation, or whatsoever, is annexed neither to the see of any bishop, nor to the Fathers, nor to the Councils, nor to the Church, nor to any created power whatsoever."²⁸

It is plain from these and other passages that one marked difference between the Anglican and the Roman position was that, while both acknowledged the inerrancy of Scripture, the representatives of the Church of England refused to concede to any person or body a like infallibility in the exposition of Scripture.

Yet though this point was generally conceded, there was no disposition to conclude that because the Church was subject to error it was no more reliable in its decisions than a private individual. Purely private judgment, in fact, was of no value, whereas the verdict of the Church fell only just short of inerrancy. How the value of different authorities may be graded is set forth in an interesting passage by Bramhall.

²⁵*Rules and Advices to the Clergy, Works, I, 110.*

²⁶*Epistle Dedicatory to Relation of Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works, II, XV.*

²⁷*Liberty of Prophesying, Works, V, 426.*

²⁸*Golden Remains (Ed. 1659), 20.*

"As we make the Scriptures the rule of faith," he writes, "... so we do not ascribe to every one the same degree of judgment. To private men we yield only a judgment of discretion. . . . To the pastors of the Church we give a judgment of direction; and to the chief pastors or bishops a judgment of jurisdiction, more or less, according to their respective places or offices in the Christian Church; and above particular pastors to a Synod; and most eminently, to a General or Oecumenical Council, which we make the highest judge of controversies upon earth."³⁹

Not All Parts of Scripture Equally Important

Though all parts of the Bible were regarded as equally authoritative and infallible, not all were equally important. In the words of Bishop Laud, "All propositions of canonical Scripture are alike firm because they all alike proceed from divine revelation; but they are not all alike fundamental in the faith."⁴⁰ A familiar theme, therefore, with many Anglican thinkers, was the distinction between fundamentals "necessary to salvation" and matters of secondary importance. And the further thesis was commonly maintained that it was the fundamentals which were so clearly set forth as to be above the need of interpretation or argument, whereas the dubious matters of controversy were not essential.

Hooker, for one, says flatly that whatever is necessary for the salvation of all men is plainly set forth in Scripture and can easily be understood by the reader.⁴¹ Or again, "Some things are so familiar and plain that truth from falsehood and good from evil is most readily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided."⁴² In the fewest possible words Bishop Andrewes expresses the same conviction. Of the truths in Scripture he declares, "Those that are necessary he [God] hath made plain; those that [are] not plain, not necessary."⁴³

Jeremy Taylor, in a more elaborate passage, explains this familiar distinction.

"... All the articles of faith are clearly and plainly set down in Scripture. . . . But besides these things which are so plainly set down . . . there are innumerable places, containing in them

³⁹*Protestants' Ordination Defended*, Works, V, 270.

⁴⁰*Conference between Laud and Fisher*, Works, II, 47f.

⁴¹*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, XXII, 14.

⁴²*Op. cit.*, Preface, III, 2.

⁴³*Sermons on the Nativity*, III, Works, I, 35.

great mysteries, but yet either so inwrapped with a cloud, or so darkened with umbrages or heightened with expressions, or so covered with allegories and garments of rhetoric, so profound in the matter, or so altered or made intricate in the manner . . . that God may seem to have left them as trials of our industry and arguments of our imperfections . . . and as occasions of opportunities of our mutual charity and toleration to each other and humility in ourselves, rather than the repositories of faith, and furniture of creeds, and articles of belief."⁴⁴

With this contrast in mind, Taylor likewise refers to "the divine authority of Scripture, in which all that is necessary is plain, and much of that that is not necessary is very obscure, intricate, and involved."⁴⁵ And in a different type of Churchman in later years we find the same thought. It is Whichcote who wrote,

"We [Protestants] tell people that the Scripture is clear and full and perspicuous in all things necessary, as to all matters of life and practice. So that if people be well minded and use diligence, they may easily understand and be satisfied. . . . And for the other parts of Scripture, they are not of such concern to the community of mankind. And if we do not fully understand them, we are safe enough."⁴⁶

This interesting thesis is probably more fully expanded and put to greater use by William Chillingworth than by any other divine of the period. He is emphatic in stating that

"those truths will be fundamental, which are evidently delivered in Scripture and commanded to be preached to all men; those not fundamental, which are obscure."⁴⁷ "The Scripture . . . in things necessary is plain and perfect . . . so that those places which contain things necessary, and wherein errors were dangerous, need no infallible interpreter, because they are plain; and those that are obscure need none, because they contain not things necessary, neither is error in them dangerous."⁴⁸

This readiness to disregard official authority and to trust the individual judgment marks Chillingworth as more radical at this point than most Anglicans of his time. He states explicitly that "all the necessary points of religion are plain and easy, and consequently, every man in this cause [is] a competent judge for himself; because it concerns himself to judge right as much as eternal happiness is worth."⁴⁹ In-

⁴⁴*Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 409f.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 494.

⁴⁶*Discourse X, Works*, I, 179f.

⁴⁷*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 19.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 95f.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 97.

deed, he is even prepared to affirm that "that may be fundamental and necessary to one, which to another is not so. Which variety of circumstances makes it impossible to set down an exact catalogue of fundamentals."⁸⁰ Yet the total effect of Chillingworth's famous work was far from negative, for he uses his doctrine about fundamentals as a path of approach to the cessation of persecution and the attainment of that peace among Christians for which he longed.

"And seeing," he writes, "the overvaluing of the differences among Christians is one of the greatest maintainers of the schisms of Christendom, he that could demonstrate that only these points of belief are simply necessary to salvation wherein Christians generally agree, should he not lay a very fair and firm foundation of the peace of Christendom?"⁸¹

By identifying "these points of belief" with the Apostles Creed he proceeds to make his proposals definite—a development of which we shall later take note in considering the Creeds.

The Anglican Position as Against Puritanism

As Richard Hooker reminds his readers,

"Two opinions . . . there are concerning sufficiency of holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be so unsufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth, which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know that they may in the next be saved. Others [i. e., the Puritans], justly condemning this opinion, grow likewise unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort that to do anything according to any other law were not only unnecessary but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful."⁸²

This "illegitimate extension of Scriptural authority," as Paul Elmer More has well described it, involves the assumption that the Bible is the one reliable source of authority for the Church, and that for everything the Church may do there must be Scriptural warrant. Its supporters even assume, as Hooker indicates, that all practices approved by the Church for which Scripture cannot be cited partake of the nature of sin. This extreme teaching was especially prominent in the early

⁸⁰*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 181.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 252.

⁸²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. II, VIII, 7.

stages of Puritanism during the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, after the Admonition Controversy had been initiated and when the voice of Thomas Cartwright was loud. Vigorous opposition to it is therefore most evident in the writings of Whitgift and Hooker.

In the words of Whitgift, "[To say] that no ceremony, order, discipline, or kind of government may be in the Church, except the same be expressed in the word of God, is a great absurdity and breedeth many inconveniences."⁸³ He agrees, of course, that "nothing in ceremonies, order, discipline, or government of the Church is to be suffered *against* the word of God," but still "the Church hath authority to ordain ceremonies and make orders which are *not expressed* in the word of God."⁸⁴ And elsewhere he gives many examples of the kind of practices which the Church is free to adopt.

"The Scripture hath not prescribed any place or time wherein the Lord's Supper should be celebrated, neither yet in what manner. The Scripture hath not appointed what time or where the congregation shall meet for common prayer, and for the hearing of the word of God, neither yet any discipline for the correcting of such as shall contemn the same. The Scripture hath not appointed what day in the week should be most meet for the Sabbath day. . . . The Scripture hath not determined what form is to be used in matrimony, what words, what prayers, what exhortations. The Scripture speaketh not one word of standing, sitting, or kneeling at the Communion . . . of baptizing in fonts, in basins, or rivers, openly or privately, at home or in the church. . . . And yet no man (as I suppose) is so simple to think that the Church hath no authority to take order in these matters."⁸⁵

In short, "Although all things necessary to salvation be in the Scriptures manifestly contained, yet all things necessary to order and comeliness are not there expressed, much less such things as according to time, place, and persons may be altered."⁸⁶

Some twenty years later, Hooker published the first four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, of which Book II is chiefly devoted to contesting and disproving the Puritan claim that Scripture is the one authority for the Church.

"Whereas God," he writes, "hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they [the Puritans] hold that only one law, the Scrip-

⁸³*Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 190.*

⁸⁴*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 199. [My italics.]*

⁸⁵*Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 200f.*

⁸⁶*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 64.*

ture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the 'taking up of a rush or straw.'"

They even go to the length of asserting "that the Scripture of God is in such sort the rule of human actions that simply whatsoever we do and are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin . . ."⁵⁷ This perversion of doctrine Hooker then answers in one of his most eloquent passages:

"The bounds of wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. . . . Wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. . . . Some things she openeth by the sacred books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of Nature; with some things she inspireth them from above by spiritual influence; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. . . . Let all her ways be according to their place and degree adored."⁵⁸

As Hooker proceeds to explain,

"There is no necessity that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge myself bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not."

For when Scripture is silent, custom and reason are sufficient grounds for action.⁵⁹ He is right in accounting for this heresy by the fact that the Puritan reformers ignore the existence of "things indifferent"—neither commanded nor forbidden—because according to their system nothing is indifferent. But there are things which God neither commands nor forbids, and so he equally approves whether we do them or leave them undone.⁶⁰ In other words, God approves much more than he commands. Much that he approves is not commanded in Scripture, so that we have no right "to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men."⁶¹ "For Scripture is not the only law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done, but there are other kinds of laws⁶² which notify the will of God," and to obey *any* law of God is to glorify him.⁶³

A generation later we find the same arguments in the works of Robert Sanderson, chaplain to King Charles I, and later regius professor

⁵⁷*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. II, I, 2, 3.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, I, 4.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, V, 7.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, IV, 3, 4.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, VIII, 5.

⁶²Book I of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is devoted to a masterly exposition of these laws.

⁶³*Op. cit.*, Bk. II, II, 2.

of divinity at Oxford and Bishop of Lincoln. In the preface to his collection of sermons *ad Clerum* he writes,

"There is a most sound and eminent truth, justly maintained in our own and other reformed Churches, concerning the perfection and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures. . . . This orthodox truth hath, by an unhappy misunderstanding, proved that great stone of offence, whereat all our late sectaries have stumbled . . . to wit this, that nothing might lawfully be done or used in the Churches of Christ unless there were either command or example for it in the Scriptures. Whence they inferred that whatsoever had been otherwise done or used was to be cast out as popish, anti-Christian, or superstitious. This is that unsound, corrupt principle . . . that root of bitterness, whose stem in process of time hath brought forth all those numerous branches of sects and heresies, wherewith this sinful nation is now so much pestered."⁶⁴

And he then goes on to point out that this exaggerated form of Scriptural authority, once applied, "was like the opening of Pandora's box," and has led to endless excesses and repeated subdivisions. Once admit it, and you cannot tell where it will end.⁶⁵

Like Whitgift and Hooker, Sanderson contends that "those men are in great error who make the holy Scriptures the sole rule of all human actions whatsoever. . . . Let that doctrine be once admitted, and all human authority will soon be despised."⁶⁶ And quite in line with the thought of the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, he defends the use of reason:

"The things wherein the power of Christianity consisteth are of two sorts, *credenda* and *agenda*, which we usually express by faith and manners. And the Scripture we acknowledge to be a perfect rule of both: yet not as excluding the use of reason, but supposing it. When God gave us the light of his holy word, he left us as he found us, reasonable creatures still, without any purpose, by the gift of that greater and sublimer light, to put out the light he had formerly given us, that of Reason, or to render it useless and unserviceable."⁶⁷

2. Tradition

At every stage of our review of Anglican convictions about the Scripture as a source of authority, we have had to note the existence

⁶⁴*Works*, II, VIII.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, XI.

⁶⁶Sermon IV, *ad Clerum*, *Works*, II, 114, 117.

⁶⁷Preface to the Reader, Sermon *ad Clerum*, *Works*, II, XLVII.

of other sources. In determining the canon, in guiding the interpretation of the Bible, in justifying observances and usages not to be found in Scripture, appeal has been made in one writer after another to the authority of *tradition*. We have now, therefore, to consider what the theologians of the Church of England had to say about tradition.

In the broadest meaning of the term, tradition includes the Creeds, the General Councils, and the Fathers. With these organs of tradition, however, we shall shortly deal more in detail. Meanwhile, it is important to observe what Anglican divines believed about tradition in the narrower sense of the oral transmission of doctrines and practices. Here we shall find that they handle tradition far more respectfully and confidently than do such Protestants as Calvin, for they are ready to judge each tradition on its merits. They are firmly Protestant, however, in their vigorous denial of the Roman dogma which placed Scripture and tradition on a level, as did the Council of Trent in affirming that it "received and venerated" the two "with an equal affection of piety and reverence."⁶⁸ All through the Anglican treatment of tradition, and of all its branches, runs the constant emphasis upon the supremacy of Scripture. Whatever need there may be to be guided or confirmed by tradition, tradition is thoroughly subordinated to Scripture, and its value is always to be estimated by reference to Scripture.

The more restricted meaning of tradition appears in Article XXXIV of the Thirty-nine Articles, entitled "Of the Traditions of the Church," in which the statement is made that

"every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies and Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

Here, then, is the official answer to all who, in their worship of the Bible, may deny this right to any human agency. At a slightly later date, in his controversy with the Puritans, Whitgift repeats this affirmation and adds the point that "the most ancient Fathers and best learned . . . do expressly declare that even from the Apostles' time the Church hath always had authority in such matters, and hath observed divers orders and ceremonies not once mentioned in the word of God."⁶⁹ Quite in line with these earlier declarations is Hooker's statement:

"We mean by 'traditions' ordinances made in the prime of Christian religion, established with that authority which Christ

⁶⁸Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, II, 80.

⁶⁹*Answer to the Admonition, Works*, I, 213.

has left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off [as many Puritans demanded] because the inventors of them were men."⁷⁰

It is clear from examples given what "matters indifferent" are included in these definitions. Though "in baptism the sacrament is necessary," Whitgift writes, "the circumstances of time and place, etc. be committed to the disposition of the Church and remain so long indifferent, until the Church hath taken order in them; which being done, then they be no more indifferent."⁷¹ It is in reference to such details of baptism as chrism, salt, candles, the sign of the cross, etc. that Andrewes says: "These being all matters of ceremony are therefore in the Church's power, upon good reason, either to retain or alter."⁷² And Bramhall, in his *Discourse of the Sabbath* cites observance of the Lord's Day as a notable instance of reliable tradition.

"Though the original institution of the Lord's Day be not recorded in holy Scripture expressly, yet so much is recorded as is sufficient to satisfy all conscientious Christians, that there was such an institution either of Christ or of his Apostles, or of Christ by his Apostles; and, with the help of the perpetual practice and tradition of the Catholic Church ever since the resurrection of Christ, is sufficient to convince all gainsayers."⁷³

And beyond these few typical examples there are of course traditions innumerable, foremost among which is the Canon of Scripture.

Even though these traditions are of human origin and subject to revision by the action of the Church, their authority is none the less valid. As Whitgift expresses it, "I do not think that that which the Church hath once determined, and by long continuance proved to be necessary, ought to be altered without great and especial consideration."⁷⁴ Moreover, when changes need to come, the Church must make them, for they are certainly not to be at the mercy of any man's private judgment.

"It is not every private man's part," Whitgift insists, "to define what is order and comeliness in external matters being in-

⁷⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXV, 2.

⁷¹*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, Works, I, 208.

⁷²Answer to the XVIIth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's *Reply*, Works, X, 26.

⁷³Works, V, 31.

⁷⁴*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, Works, I, 202.

different, but is proper to them only to whom God hath committed the government of his Church; whose orders and laws (not being against the word of God) whosoever doth disobey, disobeyeth both God and the Prince."⁷⁵

As might have been expected, the fact that the Church of England gave to tradition a less exalted place than did the Church of Rome was not to be allowed to result in any relaxation of discipline and order. In fact, Whitgift was only echoing the strong statement in Article XXXIV, which includes this sentence:

"Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly . . . as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren."

Obviously the chief reason why the Church of England and its foremost thinkers honored the right kind of traditions was that, from the practical point of view, the Church can never perform its functions for any length of time without their aid. But just because they deal with things of practical and immediate importance and not with matters of eternal value, traditions were recognized as characteristically varied and flexible. Here again we may look for guidance to Article XXXIV in which the very first sentence states that

"it is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."

Their essentially provisional nature is emphasized at this same period by Bishop Jewel, who wrote to his antagonist, Dr. Henry Cole, that "such orders as have been devised by men may be broken, upon some good consideration, only because they were men that devised them; for as men themselves be mortal, so all their wisdoms and inventions be but mortal."⁷⁶

To similar effect we may quote the often inarticulate Herbert Thorndike, who, in one of his lucid moments, has this to say:

"Even the laws given the Church by the Apostles oblige not the Church so far as they become useless to the purpose for

⁷⁵*Answer to the Admonition, Works, II, 50.*

⁷⁶*Reply of the Bishop of Sarum to a Letter from Dr. [Henry] Cole, Works, I, 120.*

which they are intended, seeing it is manifest that all laws of all societies whatsoever, so far as they become unserviceable, so far must needs cease to oblige."⁷⁷

And the same distinction is drawn by the saintly Henry Hammond, writing in exile toward the close of his life:

"We must distinguish between matters of [A] faith and [B] rites or practices or customs of all or any of the Apostles; for these latter, being prudentially designed to some persons at some times, for some particular, occasional, and those mutable ends, as they are not founded in any universal precept, or doctrine of Christ, so neither are they obliging to all future times, but only so far as they that so ordered did design them."

And he cites as an example of a mutable apostolic decree the decree recorded in Acts 15: 23-29.⁷⁸

While recognizing the validity of sound traditions in the sphere of usages and rites, Anglican thinkers were consistently hostile to the extravagant claims for their value asserted by the Church of Rome. They made it clear, however, that they did not decry traditions in contrast with Scripture solely because traditions were unwritten. Hooker is only the first of many to admit that

"that which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the selfsame force and authority with the written laws of God."⁷⁹

Or, as Field expresses it, "It is not the writing that giveth things their authority, but the worth and credit of him that delivereth them, though but by word and lively voice only. The only doubt is whether there be any such unwritten traditions or not."⁸⁰ Stillingfleet, too, in a later age agrees with this point:

"I quarrel not at all with you," he says, "for speaking of an unwritten word if you could prove it; for it is evident to me that God's word is no more so by being written or printed than if it were not so: for the writing adds no authority to the word, but only is a more certain means of conveying it to us."⁸¹

But since oral tradition is not subject to the safeguards of the written word, the burden of proof, it was maintained, is to show how such tradition, in any given case, can be as valid an authority as Scripture.

⁷⁷*Of the Principles of Christian Truth, Works*, II, Pt. II, 471.

⁷⁸*A Paraenesis, Works*, II, 326.

⁷⁹*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. I, XIV, 5.

⁸⁰*Of the Church*, II, 464.

⁸¹*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, I, 256.

The dangers to truth inherent in oral transmission are relentlessly pressed by Hooker at the beginning of his great work.

"They that so earnestly plead for the authority of tradition," he writes, "as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth itself by report, and descendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that succeed, are not all of them . . . so simple as thus to persuade themselves. . . . What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. . . . How miserable had the state of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the sacred Scripture, we had no record of his laws, but only the memory of man receiving the same by report and relation from his predecessors!"⁸²

In rather more scornful terms, Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, cries out against the Roman confidence in traditions.

"As for oral traditions," he asks, "what certainty can there be in them? What foundation of truth can be laid upon the breath of man? How do we see the reports vary of those things which our eyes have seen done! How do they multiply in their passage, and either grow or die upon hazards! . . . How heinous an imputation then do they cast upon the God of truth, which plead traditions derived from him, contrary to his written word! . . . Since therefore, the authority of Romish traditions is, besides novelty, erroneous; against Scripture and reason; we have justly abandoned it; and are thereupon unjustly condemned."⁸³

The transmission of truth by oral means is uncertain enough even when men are trying to be honest; but as Sanderson points out, they were not always trying. He hints at one fruitful source of false doctrine in these words:

"To omit [i. e., not to mention] that it hath been the usual course of false teachers, when their doctrines were found not to be Scripture-proof, to fly to tradition, do but enquire a little into the original and growth of Pharisaical traditions, and you shall find that one egg is not more like another than the Papists and the Pharisees are alike in this matter."⁸⁴

Jeremy Taylor sums up these fatal defects by stating that

"either for the difficulty of their being proved, the incompetency of the testimony that transmits them, or the indifferency of the thing transmitted, all traditions both ritual and doctrinal

⁸²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. I, XIII, 2.

⁸³*The Old Religion, Works*, VIII, 705.

⁸⁴Sermon V, *ad Clerum, Works*, II, 152f.

are disabled from determining our consciences either to a necessary believing or obeying."⁸⁵

Reminding his readers of "the vanity of some things which for no greater reason are called traditions but because one man hath said so," he declares that "tradition is a topic as fallible as any other, so fallible that it cannot be sufficient evidence to any man in a matter of faith or question of heresy."⁸⁶

If there are so many traditions which these English divines are prepared to accept, and so many which they reject, what tests do they propose to apply in the search for what is valid? All would agree with Whitgift that the mere age of a tradition is not enough. "... Antiquity," he believed, "is not sufficient to prove a thing convenient, except it agree with the circumstances of time, place, and persons; much less necessary, unless it be in matters pertaining to salvation. . . ."⁸⁷ Nor is the mere number of witnesses a compelling guarantee of truth. This sound critical principle is noted, in another connection, by Hooker when he writes, "Though ten persons be brought to give testimony to any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony."⁸⁸

The general consensus of the theologians in our period is that the only safe test of the truth of a given tradition (omitting minor matters of custom) is whether it has been accepted with practical unanimity since the time of the Apostles. "The long continued practice of the Church" is Hooker's expression.⁸⁹ Field is willing to include as apostolic traditions

"whatsoever all, or the most famous and renowned, in all ages, or at the least in diverse ages, have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man contradicting or doubting of it."⁹⁰

Hammond refers to the "always, everywhere, and by all" of Vincent of Lerins as a sound criterion, needing but few modifications.⁹¹ Or, to put it briefly in the words of Taylor, "We ought not to refuse tradition

⁸⁵*Liberty of Prophesying, Works, V, 437.*

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 434, 429.

⁸⁷*Answer to the Epistle dedicated by T. C. to the Church of England, Works, I, 18.*

⁸⁸*Ecc. Pol., Preface, IV, 8.*

⁸⁹*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, VII, 1.

⁹⁰*Of the Church, II, 472.*

⁹¹*A Paraenesis, Works, II, 331f., 334ff.*

when it is universal."⁹² Most clearly, however, the test is explained by Bramhall in several of his works.

"Divine or apostolical traditions," he affirms, "are known by their universality of time and place."⁹³ "We receive not your upstart supposititious traditions, nor unwritten fundamentals: but we admit genuine, universal, apostolical traditions. . . ."⁹⁴ "My tradition is not the tradition of one particular Church contradicted by the tradition of another Church, but the universal and perpetual tradition of the Christian world united."⁹⁵

Since it was a fundamental belief that all truths "necessary to salvation" were to be found in the Bible, there was full agreement on the point that no essential doctrine or article of faith was dependent on tradition alone. Field, for example, asserts positively that

"there is no matter of faith delivered by bare and only tradition, as the Romanists seem to imagine. . . . It is not safe to rely upon traditions in things concerning the faith."⁹⁶

And Jeremy Taylor, to quote no further, more than once tells us that "no doctrines or speculative mysteries are so transmitted to us by so clear a current that we may see a visible channel, and trace it to the primitive fountains."⁹⁷ "It cannot be made to appear that there are any such things as apostolical traditions of doctrines not contained in Scripture."⁹⁸

In summarizing the normal Anglican attitude toward tradition, it would be safe to conclude that the proof required for the validity of any tradition was exacting in proportion to the importance of the tradition. For minor details of usage, local custom of reasonable antiquity might be sufficient; for the liturgy of the sacraments, a far more illustrious lineage was demanded; for such institutions as the Lord's Day and the Canon of Scripture, unanimous consent from the age of the Apostles was the needed guarantee; but for vital articles of faith indispensable for the salvation of the soul, no tradition whatever could claim to be the sole authority.

Aware, then, that in matters of life and death tradition had to yield to the Bible, these Anglicans never failed, in assessing tradition, to dwell upon the supreme value of Scripture. Jeremy Taylor was referring to traditions when he said,

⁹²*Ductor Dubitantium*, Works, IX, 616.

⁹³*Protestants' Ordination Defended*, Works, V, 218.

⁹⁴*Answer to M. de la Milletière*, Works, I, 53.

⁹⁵Preface to *Schism Guarded*, Works, II, 352.

⁹⁶*Of the Church*, II, 466, 471.

⁹⁷*Liberty of Prophesying*, Works, V, 436.

⁹⁸*Ductor Dubitantium*, Works, IX, 625.

"Since God hath supplied . . . the principal Churches with the Scriptures . . . now to run to tradition is to make use of a staff or a wooden leg when we have a good leg of our own."⁹⁹

In less picturesque language, Chillingworth expressed his conviction that "there is nothing now extant, and to be known by us, which can put in so good plea to be the unwritten word of God as the unquestioned books of Canonical Scripture to be the written word of God."¹⁰⁰ And one brief sentence of Stillingfleet's might be taken as the motto of his Church:

" . . . The Scripture is far more evident and credible than any universal unwritten tradition."¹⁰¹

Creeds

Interpreted broadly, "tradition" includes not only unwritten testimony orally transmitted, but also written records outside of Scripture, such as the Creeds, the decrees of General Councils, and the writings of the Fathers. Concerning each of these familiar sources of religious authority, early Anglicanism has something characteristic to say.

The theme of the Creeds is not often treated, and still less often expanded, perhaps because Article VIII of the Thirty-nine Articles states officially the main facts which all accept.

"The three Creeds," it declares, "Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

Here, be it noted, as with all other traditions, the justification for acceptance is agreement with Scripture. As Bramhall expressed it in the following century,

"We have a certain rule of faith, the Apostles' Creed dilated in the Scriptures, or the Scriptures contracted into the Apostles' Creed."¹⁰²

Though all three Creeds are given equal rank in the Articles and all three appear in the Book of Common Prayer, a certain primacy was accorded to the Apostles' Creed, not only because it was the earliest but also because it was believed to have been composed by the Apostles. Taylor is only stating the common belief when he writes,

⁹⁹*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 407.

¹⁰⁰*Religion of Protestants*, *Works*, 202.

¹⁰¹*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, I, 392.

¹⁰²*Schism Guarded*, *Works*, II, 630.

"The Apostles, the founders of Christianity, knowing the nature, design, efficacy, and purpose of the articles of faith, selected such propositions which in conjunction did integrate our faith and were therefore necessary to be believed unto salvation."¹⁰³

A natural corollary to this confidence in the Apostles' Creed was the assumption that the longer Creeds added nothing vital to its substance. They simply expanded certain features of it. Hammond, to take but one instance, points out

"that there is in the two other Creeds, the Nicene and Athanasian, nothing materially different from that which the Apostles' Creed had contained, nothing really superadded to it, or else that that superaddition was not, in the Apostles' estimation, necessary to this end [of "working reformation in the world"]."¹⁰⁴

Though Article VIII does not say so, it was generally agreed not only that the Apostles' Creed was free from error, being founded upon Scripture, but that it contained all necessary articles of faith. It was perfect both as inerrant and as complete in essentials. The declaration of Chillingworth that "the Apostles' Creed is a perfect summary of the fundamentals of the Christian faith"¹⁰⁵ is typical. Bramhall calls this Creed "a perfect rule and canon of faith, which comprehendeth all doctrinal points which are absolutely necessary for all Christians to salvation."¹⁰⁶ Taylor, like many others, believes that "the Apostles' Creed . . . contains all that which is necessary to be enquired after and believed by an universal and prime necessity."¹⁰⁷ For, as he had earlier remarked, "Unless [the Apostles Creed] had contained all the entire object of faith and the foundation of religion, it cannot be imagined to what purpose it should serve. . . ."¹⁰⁸ And Stillingfleet, at a later date, adds that

"The Fathers . . . unanimously assert the sufficiency, unalterableness, and perfection of that faith which is contained in the Creed; making it the sum of all necessary doctrines, the foundation of the Catholic faith and of the Church, the first and sole confession of evangelical doctrine."¹⁰⁹

Taking advantage of this widespread belief in the adequacy of

¹⁰³*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 438.

¹⁰⁴*Of Fundamentals*, *Works*, II, 110f.

¹⁰⁵*Religion of Protestants*, *Works*, 262.

¹⁰⁶*Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, *Works*, II, 278.

¹⁰⁷*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 437.

¹⁰⁸*Liberty of Prophesying*, *Works*, V, 371.

¹⁰⁹*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, I, 90.

the Apostles' Creed, both William Chillingworth and Jeremy Taylor appealed for religious toleration on this ground among others—that acceptance of the Creed meant acceptance of the essence of Christianity, and that the Church had no right to make fundamental anything not contained in the Creed. In *The Religion of Protestants* by Chillingworth (1637) and in *The Liberty of Prophesying* by Taylor (1647), this thesis is maintained; and a few passages from the latter may serve to illustrate this use of the Creed.

"Can any man," Taylor pleads, "say and justify that the Apostles did deny communion to any man that believed the Apostles' Creed and lived a good life?"¹¹⁰ "If this [Creed] was sufficient to bring men to heaven then," he asks, "why not now? If the Apostles admitted all to their communion that believed this Creed, why shall we exclude any that preserve the same entire?"¹¹¹

"The Church," he continues, "hath power to intend our faith, but not to extend it; to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive. For Christ and his Apostles concealed nothing that was necessary to the integrity of Christian faith or salvation of our souls."¹¹²

So far as articles of belief are concerned, he maintains that "the peace of the Church and the unity of her doctrine is best conserved when it is judged by the proportion it hath to that rule of unity which the Apostles gave, that is the Creed. . . ."¹¹³

General Councils

As in the case of the authority of Scripture and of the Creeds, official statements set the pace for Anglican thinking about General Councils, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that official statements express the matured judgment of contemporary leaders of thought. The Act of Supremacy, as we have seen, names the first four General Councils as one of the sources of authority by reference to which heresy may be detected. This decree thus places in a class by themselves the Council of Nicaea (325), the Council of Constantinople (381), the Council of Ephesus (431), and the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Several theologians in later generations, however, are disposed to extend their confidence to one or more subsequent Councils, but only on the grounds that they were truly general and that they added nothing

¹¹⁰*Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 408.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 373.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 375.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 533.

ing material to the earlier Councils. Field tells us that the first six Councils¹¹⁴ were lawful in all respects as touching matters of faith, and that the seventh¹¹⁵ was equally reliable, but dealt only with morals and practices.¹¹⁶ And Hammond, referring to the fifth General Council, points out that "it being, for the doctrinal part of it, but a corroboration of the fourth, our Church makes no more doubt of that than of the fourth it doth." As for the sixth, "as far as that concerns the error of the Monothelites, which denied the two wills in Christ, so it is duly founded in Scripture"; but he gives various reasons for not allowing the authority of the seventh and eighth.¹¹⁷

More important than the exact number of General Councils certified as reliable is the equally official pronouncement of Article XXI of the Thirty-nine Articles that

"things ordained by them [General Councils] as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture."

Here again, as with traditions and creeds, authority is not primary but derivative from an infallible Bible. Since only that Bible is infallible, it follows that General Councils are subject to error; and that fact, too, is officially proclaimed in Article XXI.

"When they [General Councils] be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit or Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God."

How cordially theological opinion agreed with this judgment the statements of many later theologians make evident. Andrewes and Taylor, for example, note the fact that Councils have sometimes contradicted each other.¹¹⁸ Field confesses that

"no man can certainly pronounce that whatsoever the greater part of bishops assembled in a General Council agree on is undoubtedly true. . . . For the Fathers assembled in General Councils do not rely upon immediate revelation in all their particular resolutions and determinations" . . . so that "some there are that think it not heretical to believe that General

¹¹⁴Thus adding II Constantinople (553) and III Constantinople (680-1).

¹¹⁵II Nicaea (787).

¹¹⁶*Of the Church*, IV, 61.

¹¹⁷*A Paraenesis, Works*, II, 350ff.

¹¹⁸Andrewes, *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, Works*, VIII, 60f. Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 453.

Councils may prescribe some laws to the whole Church that are not right, profitable, and just."¹¹⁹

And Taylor puts it even more strongly by asserting that "there are some General Councils which are so far from being infallible that they are directly false, schismatical, and heretical."¹²⁰

It is Jeremy Taylor, moreover, who offers the telling argument that

"there is no General Council that hath determined that a General Council is infallible; no Scripture hath recorded it, no tradition universal hath transmitted to us any such proposition; so that we must receive the authority at a lower rate and upon a less probability than the things consigned by that authority."¹²¹

Laud makes the practical point that the alleged infallibility of Councils would render it impossible for them to correct errors, and thereby all errors would become irrevocable—the tragic situation in which Rome finds itself.¹²²

John Hales, with his usual refreshing candor, explains one reason why Councils are not inerrant:

"Councils and synods not only may have erred, but considering the means how they are managed, it were a great marvel if they did not err. . . . When such persons are thus met, their way to proceed to conclusion is not by weight of reason, but by multitude of votes and suffrages, as if it were a maxim in nature that the greater part must needs be the better. . . . It was never heard in any profession that conclusion of truth went by plurality of voices, the Christian profession only excepted."¹²³

And Stillingfleet, with considerable insight, raises a question not often broached:

"Suppose men could be assured of the proceedings of the Council, yet what certainty of faith can be had of the meaning of those decrees? For we see they are as liable to many interpretations as any other writings. . . . Their decrees are as liable to a private sense and wrong interpretation as the Scriptures are."¹²⁴

Despite this general agreement upon the fallibility of Councils, the

¹¹⁹*Of the Church*, IV, 51, 48, 47.

¹²⁰*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 358.

¹²¹*Liberty of Prophesying*, *Works*, V, 453.

¹²²*Conference between Laud and Fisher*, *Works*, II, 288.

¹²³*Works*, (Ed. 1765), I, 65f.

¹²⁴*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, II, 355.

attitude of Anglican thinkers was not wholly negative. Most of them were prepared to understand and to appreciate the value of Councils as a secondary source of authority. They have the right, as Bramhall concedes, to make laws concerning "opinions or truths of an inferior nature" for the sake of uniformity in practice.¹²⁵ Or, as Whitgift expresses it,

"Is it not therefore manifest that Councils, both general and provincial, by their acts declare that touching ceremonies, discipline, and government of the Church, many things are left to the discretion of the Church, which be not expressed in the Scriptures?"¹²⁶

When they legislate within these proper limits their decisions, as Stillfleet demands, should be accepted for the sake of peace and unity, for they have the right to insist upon external obedience, though not internal assent.¹²⁷

But the most important service which Councils have rendered, as Field notes, is to *interpret* the word of God—"how it is to be understood, and what conclusions may be deduced from it by discourse of reason."¹²⁸ In the words of Taylor, though Councils "made nothing true that was not so before . . . they are to be apprehended in the nature of excellent guides . . ."¹²⁹ ". . . They are of great use for enquiry and consultation. . . . They are more likely to understand truth than single persons. . . . If they proceed rightly, they are excellent helps."¹³⁰ For a summary of their valued functions we may quote Field, who writes that

"General Councils are the best means of preserving of unity of doctrine, severity of discipline, and preventing of schisms when they may be had; and though they be not absolutely necessary to the being of the Church, yet are they most behoveful for the best, readiest, and most gracious governing of the same."¹³¹

The Fathers

Neither in Acts of Parliament, nor in the Book of Common Prayer, nor in the Thirty-nine Articles is there any official statement as to the value of the Church Fathers as a source of religious authority. Yet there is little difference of opinion on the subject among Anglican divines of this period. The Fathers were widely and deeply revered,

¹²⁵*Answer to M. de la Milletière, Works, I, 26.*

¹²⁶*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 220.*

¹²⁷*Grounds of Protestant Religion, II, 390-423.*

¹²⁸*Of the Church, IV, 46.*

¹²⁹*Liberty of Prophesying, Works, V, 460.*

¹³⁰*Ductor Dubitantium, Works, X, 444.*

¹³¹*Of the Church, IV, 5f.*

and quotations from their works fill innumerable pages in Anglican writings. As Professor Tulloch has noted,

"The peculiar force which patristic authority retained over the minds of the English Reformers cannot indeed be better exemplified than in the case of [Jewel], with all his broad and clearly rational tendencies. His defence of his 'Apology' against Harding bristles with patristic references from all sources, everywhere handled with the utmost reverence."¹³²

Whitgift's long *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition* is equally loaded with passages from the Fathers. Andrewes, as a preacher, to add another instance, "in his explanation of a text systematically follows the Fathers."¹³³ Taylor, too, from his early *Episcopacy Asserted* to his latest *Dissuasive from Popery* depends heavily upon patristic citations; and he has testified:

"I honor their memory, I read their books, I imitate their piety, I examine their arguments; for therefore did they write them, and where the reasons of the moderns and theirs seem equal, I turn the balance on the elder side, and follow them. . . ."¹³⁴
 "[The Fathers] speak reason and religion in their writings, and when they do so, we have reason to make use of the good things which by their labors God intended to convey to us. They were better than other men, and wiser than most men. . . ."¹³⁵

It was only the early Fathers, however, who were treated with this profound respect. Just as General Councils worthy of confidence are confined to the first five centuries, so patristic writers are usually limited to those who lived before 500, with St. Jerome and St. Augustine among the latest. Though more recent theologians are often quoted, it is not because they possess the same authority and prestige, but because they can furnish timely aid or serve to wound Roman adversaries with their own weapons. "That which I will utter herein," Jewel announced, "shall not be of myself but of the Fathers of the Church: not of those which have been of later years, but of the most ancient."¹³⁶

The chief use made of the Fathers in these writings of Anglicans is to support arguments, sometimes against Protestants, sometimes against Roman Catholics. They are called upon, for example, to defend episcopacy on the one hand, and on the other hand to combat such Roman

¹³²Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I, 55.

¹³³Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, 131.

¹³⁴*Deus Justificatus. Works*, VII, 518.

¹³⁵Introduction to *Dissuasive from Popery. Pt. II, Works*, VI, 334.

¹³⁶*Treatise of the Sacraments, Works*, VIII, 19.

errors as transubstantiation and papal supremacy. Both in cases of controversy and on many other occasions, they are employed to interpret Scripture. In the words of Bishop Jewel, "In this conference and judgment of the holy Scriptures we need often times the discretion and wisdom of learned Fathers."¹³⁷

"To expound Scriptures according to the sense of the ancient Fathers," Taylor tells us, ". . . is the best way for most men, and it is of great use to all men so to do. For the Fathers were good men and learned; and interest, and partiality, and error had not then invaded the world so much as they have since done."¹³⁸

While it is easy to discover the reverence accorded to the Fathers by Anglican divines, it is no less easy to note how free they were to confess the fallibility of these saintly doctors. And here, as with traditions and Councils, the inferiority of the Fathers to Scripture is emphasized again and again. Mere antiquity, of course, makes little impression on the more liberal theologians. Of "those things which we reverence for antiquity," Hales enquires, "what were they at their first birth? Were they false? Time cannot make them true. Were they true? Time cannot make more true. The circumstance, therefore, of time, in respect of truth and error is merely impertinent."¹³⁹ "I am not such an idolator of St. Augustine," confesses Chillingworth, "as to think a thing proved sufficiently because he says it, nor that all his sentences are oracles."¹⁴⁰ And this sentiment is echoed even by the more circumspect Jeremy Taylor who asks,

"Did they that lived . . . in St. Austin's time believe all that he wrote? If they did, they were much to blame; or else himself was to blame for retracting much of it a little before his death. . . . I know not why his authority should prevail further now; for there is nothing added to the strength of his reason since that time, but only that he hath been in great esteem with posterity."¹⁴¹

For it was the conviction of Taylor at his best that "although they that are dead some ages before we were born have a reverence due to them, yet more is due to truth that shall never die . . . I must go after truth wherever it is . . ."¹⁴²

¹³⁷*Defence of the Apology, Works, IV, 270.*

¹³⁸*Introduction to Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. II, Works, VI, 333.*

¹³⁹*Works, (Ed. 1765), III, 163.*

¹⁴⁰*Religion of Protestants, Works, 200.*

¹⁴¹*Liberty of Prophesying, Works, V, 487.*

¹⁴²*Deus Justificatus, Works, VII, 519.*

In more conventional language, the liability of the Fathers to error is expressed by a series of divines, beginning with Jewel himself.

"Although very much, by the judgment of all men, is to be given to the Fathers," he writes, "yet were they men, and also might err. Truly, to speak nothing else of them, they did oftentimes very ill agree among themselves about very great and weighty matters."¹⁴³

The conservative Andrewes, too, acknowledges that "we shall not find one place of a hundred which they all expound alike, so that few of their expositions should be received."¹⁴⁴ And a statement of Sander-son is to the same effect:

"There is, I confess, much reverence to be given to the writings of the godly ancient Fathers. . . . But we may not . . . build our faith upon them as upon a sure foundation, nor pin our belief upon their sleeves, so as to receive for an undoubted truth whatsoever they hold, and to reject as a gross error whatsoever they disallow, without further examination."¹⁴⁵

But the fallibility of the Fathers is no serious obstacle to their use, if we believe, with Jeremy Taylor, that they are not our masters but our good instructors.¹⁴⁶

3. Reason

On the subject of Reason as a source of religious authority, the Church of England has provided no orthodox pronouncements to be compared with those on Scripture and Tradition. Hence there is to be found in the earlier Anglican theologians a wider variety of views on this topic than on the other sources of authority. On the matters we have already considered, there has been a general agreement, with only minor variations. But when we come to the question of Reason, we find a diversity of treatment which reflects the temperaments and the mental qualities and habits of the various thinkers. Some of them almost ignore the subject, and in this field few have much of value to contribute.

Richard Hooker is the first to say anything of importance upon this theme, and his masterly treatment of it dwarfs what follows. In any book on his theology, of course, his thinking about reason would demand several chapters; but if it is to be given no more than its due

¹⁴³*Learned and Godly Sermon, Works, VIII, 244.*

¹⁴⁴*Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, Works, VIII, 60.*

¹⁴⁵*Sermon VII, ad Populum, Works, III, 288.*

¹⁴⁶*Dedication of Episcopacy Asserted, Works, V, 5.*

proportion in a general survey of a century of Anglican thought, we can only summarize it briefly.

In his defence of the place and power of reason, Hooker's chief antagonists were the Puritans, for to belittle the role of reason in religion was a Protestant rather than a Roman defect. It was Calvin who had written, "In divine things our reason is totally blind and stupid,"¹⁴⁷ but it was St. Thomas Aquinas who served as a guide for Hooker's own thought. The background of Hooker's appeal to reason and his use of reason throughout the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is his study of Law in Book I. Here he lays the deep foundation for his own principles of religious authority and for his defence against Puritan assaults. The effect of Book I and its exposition of Law is to put the law of Scripture in its proper place in the total setting, and the further result is to make clear the divine origin and the consequent validity of human reason as a source of authority.

"Medieval thought had drawn a sound distinction between the kingdoms of natural law and supernatural grace. In the Reformers' teaching revelation and grace took a form which overwhelmed man's natural faculties and left very little room for them to function. Hooker restored the balance once more for English thought. This is perhaps his greatest contribution to theology, and it is the leading *motif* of Book I."¹⁴⁸

Like St. Thomas Aquinas, Richard Hooker finds the attribute of Reason deep in the nature of God. According to his theology, all God's actions are controlled by reason in the pursuit of ends, and his omnipotence is regulated by reason.¹⁴⁹ Here, in company with the soundest Catholic theologians, he is opposed to the teaching of certain scholastics, of Calvin, and of Moslem doctors, all of whom make the will of God his all-dominating feature. "They err," declares Hooker, "... who think that of the will of God to do this or that there is no reason besides his will." God's actions are not arbitrary, even though we cannot see the reason for them, because the eternal law of God is grounded in his wisdom.¹⁵⁰ It is this supremely rational God who has endowed man with reason, so that reason in man is a divine gift.

"The light of natural understanding, wit, and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. . . . He is the author of all that we think or do by virtue of that light which himself hath given."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷*Institutes*, Bk. II, ch. 2, Sect. 19.

¹⁴⁸Thornton, *Richard Hooker*, 36.

¹⁴⁹*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. I, II, 3.

¹⁵⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. I, II, 5.

¹⁵¹*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, IX, 3.

Since man thus has the capacity, denied to animals, of reaching beyond the knowledge of things merely material by the use of reason,¹⁵² he "attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are and are not sensible,"¹⁵³ and it is by the light of reason that he comes to know good and evil and to judge of the highest good to be pursued.¹⁵⁴ He not only learns the law to love his neighbor as himself, but he is taught also to recognize that there is a God, and to know God's chief attributes, and to perceive his duty to love God and to worship him.¹⁵⁵ In other words, it is through the power of reason that "natural religion"—the religion knowable without special revelation—is implanted in the mind of man. These "Laws of Reason" can be identified by the fact that (a) they can be understood and expressed without the aid of divine revelation, and (b) they are universally recognized throughout the world in the sense that, when stated, they appeal to all as reasonable and just. This "Law of Reason" or "Law of Nature," in Hooker's words, thus "comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeching or unbeseeching, virtuous or vicious, good or evil, for them to do."¹⁵⁶

In assigning so prominent a part to reason in the moral and religious life of man, Hooker never forgets to emphasize not only the divine origin of reason but the further truth that man cannot rightly exercise his reason without God's perpetual aid, for whenever God withdraws that aid, the light of reason is darkened.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, beyond sensual and intellectual goods man desires a spiritual good—something divine above the reach of sense and even above the capacity of reason, and "this last and highest state of perfection" cannot be achieved by our own human efforts. There is no *natural* way to salvation: it depends upon supernatural revelation.¹⁵⁸

These broad and solid affirmations in Book I of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* sustain its author through the succeeding books of controversy.

"All previous apologists, including Whitgift himself, had tended to meet the Puritans on their own chosen field—the Scriptures; and to pit one interpretation against another. Hooker, by vindicating the place of reason, translated the controversy to an entirely different level."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵²*Op. cit.*, Bk. I, VI, 3.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, VII, 1.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, VII, 4 and VIII, 1.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, VIII, 7.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, VIII, 9.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, VIII, 11.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, XI, 4, 5.

¹⁵⁹Shirley, *Richard Hooker*, 88.

He deplores the Puritan assumption that we cannot reverence the authority of the word of God if in religious matters we attribute any force whatever to human reason.

"By these and like disputes," he remarks, "an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if reason were an enemy unto religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine wisdom."¹⁶⁰

But if it is true that nature needs to be supplemented by grace, it is also true that "grace hath use of nature."¹⁶¹ To convert us to the service of God reason must cooperate with grace.

"The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach theology? Theology, what is it but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto without the help of natural discourse and reason?"¹⁶²

Even if all we are interested in is controversy, "there is as yet no way known to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the use of natural reason."¹⁶³ And he quotes St. Augustine as saying, "To refuse the conduct of the light of nature is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety,"¹⁶⁴ for it is injurious to God, the giver of human wisdom and reason, to reject anything scornfully simply because "the brain of man hath devised it." The law of nature is God's law as truly as the law of Scripture.¹⁶⁵

Throughout the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, its author urges on countless occasions, as we have already noted, that for determining its laws and usages the Church cannot depend solely on Scripture. Here it is that reason becomes a true source of authority.

"The selfsame Spirit which revealeth the things which God hath set down in his law," Hooker believes, "may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and besides them that are in Scripture."¹⁶⁶ For "a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by

¹⁶⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, VIII, 4.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, VIII, 6.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, VIII, 11.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, VIII, 17.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, IX, 1.

¹⁶⁵*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, XI, 10.

¹⁶⁶*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, VIII, 18.

laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture and partly reason must teach to discern."¹⁶⁷

Thus the first test of established rites and customs is whether they are *reasonable*, i. e., effectually adapted to promote godliness.¹⁶⁸ And beyond the minor function of reason in supplementing Scripture on lesser matters, is its indispensable role as the organ by which we interpret Scripture—"a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth."¹⁶⁹

As a rebuke to those of his own day and to those of ours who think to exalt God by despising reason and rejecting any pathway to truth save the Bible, there stands one of Hooker's noblest passages:

"There is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious: yea, that principal truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it some kind of light . . . to detract from the dignity thereof were to injure even God himself, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, even as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise."¹⁷⁰

Within the period of our study there is no later treatment of reason quite on a level with Hooker's. It is easy to find commonplace passages referring to reason as the handmaid of faith and to faith as going beyond reason. Cosin, for one, declares that "it is but a slack opinion, it is but a rash assent, it is not belief, that is not grounded upon right reason."¹⁷¹ And a paragraph from Chillingworth is to much the same effect:

"I am certain that God hath given us our reason to discern between truth and falsehood; and he that makes not this use of it, but believes things he knows not why; I say it is by chance that he believes the truth and not by choice; and that I cannot but fear that God will not accept of this 'sacrifice of fools.'"¹⁷²

It is to Jeremy Taylor and Benjamin Whichcote, however, that we must turn for convictions about the place of reason at all comparable to Hooker's; and though no writer exalted reason more highly than Whichcote, it is Taylor's exposition which more closely resembles that of the earlier master.

¹⁶⁷*Op. cit.*, Bk. IX, 1.

¹⁶⁸*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, VI, 1, 2.

¹⁶⁹*Op. cit.*, III, VIII, 10.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, VIII, 9.

¹⁷¹Sermon XX, *Works*, I, 284.

¹⁷²*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 134.

Taylor's declaration that "right reason is the eternal word of God"¹⁷³ directly echoes the *Ecclesiastical Polity* and so do Whichcote's words, "Reason is the divine governor of man's life; it is the very voice of God. . . . He that useth his reason doth acknowledge God."¹⁷⁴ Such being the high origin of reason, it must certainly be true that reason can never rightly be *opposed* to faith.

"True reason," Whichcote asserts, "is so far from being an enemy to any matter of faith that a man is disposed and qualified by reason for the entertaining those matters of faith that are proposed by God. . . . They are therefore greatly mistaken who in religion oppose points of reason and matters of faith, as if nature went one way and the Author of nature went another."¹⁷⁵

These same convictions are those of Taylor, who writes,

"It is a weak and trifling principle which supposes faith and reason to be opposite: for faith is but one way by which our reason is instructed and acquires the proper notices of things. . . . Faith and reason do not divide theology and philosophy," [i. e., it cannot be said that theology depends entirely on faith and philosophy on reason].¹⁷⁶

Or, as he expresses it elsewhere, ". . . Whosoever believes wisely and not by chance, enters into his faith by the hand of reason; that is, he hath causes and reasons why he believes."¹⁷⁷ In fact, ". . . whatsoever is contradictory to right reason is at no hand to be admitted as a mystery of faith. . . ." ¹⁷⁸ And he sums up the matter in these words:

"Reason is the eye of the soul in all things, natural, moral, and religious; and faith is the light of that eye in things pertaining to God. . . ." ¹⁷⁹

This close relationship between faith and reason was the less difficult to accept in those days when so many Anglican divines were disposed to define faith as belief in certain propositions—conclusions to which reason might well be the guide. Thus reason could even be accepted as the final judge in religion. It was Chillingworth who said,

"I shall believe nothing which reason will not convince that I ought to believe it; for reason will convince any man, unless he

¹⁷³*Ductor Dubitantium, Works, IX, 69.*

¹⁷⁴*Aphorisms, No. 76 and No. 295.*

¹⁷⁵*Aphorisms, No. 644 and No. 878.*

¹⁷⁶*Ductor Dubitantium, Works, IX, 59f.*

¹⁷⁷*Ibid., 61.*

¹⁷⁸*Ibid., 66.*

¹⁷⁹*Ibid., 75.*

be of a perverse mind, that the Scripture is the word of God; and then no reason can be greater than this: God says so, therefore it is true."¹⁸⁰

And Taylor seems to make reason the ultimate judge of the value of Church authority:

"Every man is bound to follow his guide, unless he believes his guide to mislead him; yet when he sees reason against his guide, it is best to follow his reason . . . he may do violence to truth, but never to his own conscience; and an honest error is better than an hypocritical profession of truth. . ."¹⁸¹

Three further notes in Hooker's exposition of reason may be heard in these later thinkers—his repudiation of any humanistic trust in reason, apart from God; his conception of reason as an instrument to be used in dealing with all forms of religious authority; and his lofty ideal of the unity of all truth.

First, writing of "the power of reason to judge of matters of faith," Whichcote earnestly confesses (and Taylor would agree with him)—

"With all my heart and soul I acknowledge and assert . . . the Holy Spirit's superintendency, conduct, presence, influence, guidance, government of man's mind, in the discerning of the things of God. . . . I abhor and detest from my soul all creature-magnifying self-sufficiency."¹⁸²

Secondly, we find in Taylor this definition:

". . . By 'reason' I do not mean a distinct topic but a transcendent that runs through all topics: for reason, like logic, is instrument of all things else; and when revelation and philosophy, and public experience, and all other grounds of probability or demonstration have supplied us with matter, then reason does but make use of them."

In other words, "Scripture, Tradition, Councils, and Fathers are the evidence in a question, but reason is the judge."¹⁸³ Finally, it is again Jeremy Taylor who in this sentence records his faith:

"All reason, and all right, and all truth, and all faith, and all commandments, are from God, and therefore partake of his unity and his simplicity."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 466.

¹⁸¹*Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 493f.

¹⁸²Third Letter in *Aphorisms and Letters*, 99f.

¹⁸³*Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 498f.

¹⁸⁴*Ductor Dubitantium, Works*, IX, 71.

4. Summary of the Sources of Religion Authority

If at the close of our review of Anglican thought about the sources of religious authority we should feel the need of a summary, it can easily be found in the works of any one of a dozen writers. At one point or another most of the men whom we have been citing tell us in concise form what the Church of England teaches about authority. With two of these as examples we may conclude our survey. Andrewes' summary is in these words:

"One canon reduced to writing by God himself, two Testaments, three Creeds, four General Councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period—the three centuries, that is, before Constantine and two after him—determine the boundary of our faith."¹⁸⁵

And the same factors appear in a sermon by Joseph Hall:

"Wherefore are the Scriptures, wherefore the Creeds, wherefore were the primitive Councils, but that there might be certain marks, whereby Catholics might be undoubtedly discerned from heretics? . . . Surely whosoever willingly subscribes to the word of God, signed in the everlasting monuments of Scripture, to the ancient Creeds, to the four General Councils, to the common consent of the Fathers for six hundred years after Christ, which we of the Reformed Church religiously profess to do; if he may err, in small points, yet he cannot be an heretic."^{186*}

¹⁸⁵*Concio habita in discessu Palatini (Opusc. posthuma), Works, VI, 91.*

¹⁸⁶"Sermon on Noah's Dove," *Works, X, 38.*

*It is to be noted that the Thirty-nine Articles are seldom mentioned in the works of these Anglican teachers, and never cited as *sources* of authority. In a treatise by Bramhall the normal attitude toward them is expressed as follows:

"We do not suffer any man 'to reject' the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England 'at his pleasure'; yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith or 'legacies of Christ and of his Apostles'; but in a mean, as pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity. Neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them." (*Schism Guarded, Works, II, 470.*)

Chapter II

The Church

NONE of the Anglican Divines who wrote between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century was a systematic theologian of the type of Thomas Aquinas or Calvin. Their treatment of Christian doctrines never takes the form of a fixed scheme or system, because nearly everything that they wrote was called forth by some practical and pressing situation. In nine cases out of ten, it was a contribution to a controversy. For this reason, their exposition of Orders is mainly a defence of episcopacy against Puritan claims, and their exposition of the Eucharist is primarily a protest against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the Mass. Similarly their teaching about the nature of the Church is not abstract and theoretical, but chiefly concerned with the status of the Church of England, especially in relation to the Church of Rome and the errors of Rome. We find few careful statements, accordingly, of the nature of the Church in general, but much about how Anglicanism differs from Romanism.

The only official definition of the Church is to be found in Article XIX of the Thirty-nine Articles, in which we read that

"the visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful¹ men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

This simple, almost meagre, statement hardly differs from that given by Calvin who wrote in his *Institutes*:

"The word *Church* is frequently used in the Scriptures to designate the whole multitude, dispersed all over the world, who profess to worship one God and Jesus Christ, who are initiated into his faith by baptism, who testify their unity in true doctrine and charity by a participation of the sacred Supper,

¹*Faithful* "signifies 'professed believers.' It cannot be taken as implying anything as to the character of the faith in the members of the Church . . . but it refers simply to those who 'profess and call themselves Christians.'" (Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, II, 502.)

who consent to the word of the Lord, and preserve the ministry which Christ has instituted for the purpose of preaching it."²

These two standard definitions supply the substance of most of those which appear during the next century.

Field's Exposition "Of The Church"

The most thorough exposition of the nature of the Church to be offered in our period is that by Richard Field in his extensive work entitled *Of the Church*. Field was a friend of Hooker, and his treatise was published in 1606, only six years after the death of Hooker. Since no more adequate pronouncement can be found in this era, and since many of its details are either anticipated or repeated by other writers, we shall be justified in quoting fully his main definition of the Church:

"The Church is the multitude and number of those whom almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness, by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good he hath revealed in Christ his Son, and such other precious and happy means as he hath appointed to further and set forward the work of their salvation. So that it is the work of grace, and the heavenly call, that give being to the Church, and make it a different society from all other companies of men in the world, that have no other light of knowledge, nor motion of desire, but that which is natural; whence, for distinction from them, it is named *ecclesia*, a multitude called out."³

Here Field gives primary emphasis to a point which both Calvin and the composers of the Articles would gladly have acknowledged, but which does not appear in their definitions—the initiative of God as the creator of the Church.

The heterogeneous and inclusive character of this divinely ordained *ecclesia* is then described:

"They that are partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of divine truth, and the use of the means of salvation, are of very divers sorts. For there are some that profess the truth delivered by Christ the Son of God, but not *wholly* and *entirely*, as heretics; some that profess the whole saving truth, but not in *unity*, as schismatics; some that profess the whole saving truth in unity but not in *sincerity*, and singleness of a good and sanctified mind, as hypocrites and wicked men, not outwardly divided from the people of God;

²*Institutes*, Bk. IV, ch. I, sect. 7.

³*Of the Church*, I, 25.

and some that profess the whole saving truth in unity and sincerity of a good and sanctified heart."⁴

All these types are "in some degree and sort of that society whom God calleth out unto himself, and separateth from infidels, which is rightly named the Church." But

"there are divers names by which they are expressed and distinguished one from another. For as the name of the Church doth distinguish men that have received the revelation of supernatural truth, from infidels; and the name of the Christian Church, Christians from Jews; so the name of the orthodox Church is applied to distinguish right believing Christians from heretics; the name of the Catholic Church, men holding the faith in unity, from schismatics; the name of the invisible Church, 'the Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven,' the mystical body of Christ, and the like, to distinguish the elect from all the rest. So that many were of the Church which were not of the Christian Church, as the Jews before the coming of Christ; many of the Christian Church that are not of the orthodox; many of the orthodox that are not of the Catholic; and many of the Catholic that are not of the invisible and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven."⁵

By this time Field is prepared to make clear the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church—a contrast prominent in Calvinism. To the visible Church belong all the varieties he has named, but to the invisible Church only those "whom divine grace leadeth infallibly and indeclinably . . . to the certain and undoubted possession of wished blessedness." Only these are "principally, fully, and absolutely" of the Church; and these, like Calvin, he identifies with the elect.⁶

"Hence it cometh," he explains, "that we say there is a visible and invisible Church, not meaning to make two distinct Churches . . . though the form of words may serve to insinuate some such thing, but to distinguish the divers considerations [i. e., different aspects] of the same Church; which though it be visible in respect of the profession of supernatural verities revealed in Christ, use of holy Sacraments, order of Ministry, and due obedience yielded thereunto, and they discernible that do communicate therein; yet in respect of those most precious effects, and happy benefits of saving grace, wherein only the elect do communicate, it is invisible; and they

⁴*Of the Church*, 1, 25f.

⁵*Ibid.*, 26.

⁶*Ibid.*, 26f.

that in so happy, gracious, and desirable things have communion among themselves, are not discernible from others to whom this fellowship is denied, but are known only unto God."⁷

On those rare occasions when these Anglican thinkers attempt general statements of the nature of the Church, their definitions are briefer and less fully thought out than those we owe to Field. Thorndike, for instance, tells us that "the Church is a society instituted by our Lord Christ and his Apostles, in trust for the maintenance and propagation of Christianity, contained in the holy Scriptures which he deposited with it."⁸ Ussher, in a fine passage in one of his sermons, expresses his ideal of the inclusiveness of the Church Catholic in these words:

"Thus must we conceive of the Catholic Church as of one entire body, made up by the collection and aggregation of all the faithful unto the unity thereof: from which union there ariseth unto every one of them such a relation to, and a dependence upon the Church Catholic as parts use to have in respect of their whole. Whereupon it followeth that neither particular persons nor particular Churches are to work as several divided bodies by themselves, which is the ground of all schism, but are to teach and be taught and to do all other Christian duties as parts conjoined unto the whole and members of the same commonwealth or corporation."⁹

One of the fullest of such statements comes from Jeremy Taylor's exposition of the Apostles' Creed in *The Golden Grove* in which the section headed "The Holy Catholic Church" reads as follows:

"I believe that there is and ought to be a visible company of men, professing the service and discipline, that is, the religion of the Gospel, who agree together in the belief of all the truths of God revealed by Jesus Christ, and in confession of the articles of this Creed, and agree together in praying and praising God through Jesus Christ; to read and hear the Scriptures read and expounded; to provoke each other to love and to good works; to advance the honor of Christ, and to propagate his faith and worship. I believe this to be a holy Church, spiritual, and not civil and secular, but sanctified by their profession, and the solemn rites of it, professing holiness, and separating from the evil manners of heathens and wicked persons, by their laws and institutions. And this Church is catholic, that is, it is not confined to the nation of the Jews, as was the old religion; but it is gathered out of all nations, and is not of a differing

⁷*Of the Church*, 1, 31f.

⁸*Of the Principles of Christian Truth*, Works, II, Pt. II, 426.

⁹*Sermon Preached before His Majesty*, Works, II, 476.

faith in differing places, but always did, doth, and ever shall profess the faith which the Apostles preached, and which is contained in this Creed. . . ."¹⁰

Though this definition is markedly unmystical and contains nothing with which a Puritan could not agree, it has the unusual merit of showing at several points a missionary emphasis.

The Visible and the Invisible Church

If the predecessors and successors of Field offer no statements which quite approximate his own, there is evident in the writings of not a few of them the same distinction which he makes between the visible and the invisible Church—a contrast reflecting Protestant influence. Whitgift, for example, refers to "the invisible Church, which is only of the elect" and to "the visible Church, which is a mixture of good and evil, and wherein the evil are the greater number."¹¹ It is Hooker, however, who gives the fullest explanation of the difference between the two. In Book III of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, he takes the position that it is to the *invisible* Church that the promises of God's love and saving mercy apply, and it is to that Church that the qualities or "notes" of the Church are properly attributed. This is the Church which we call the mystical body of Christ, and it cannot be discerned by men, because it is partly composed of souls in heaven, and its earthly members are known only to God.¹²

"The multitude of them which truly believe (howsoever they be dispersed far and wide each from other), is all one Body, whereof the head is Christ. . . . Who be inwardly in heart the lively members of this body . . . none can tell, save he whose eyes do behold the secret dispositions of all men's hearts."¹³

Yet he does not identify the members of this Church with the elect. But Sanderson defines the invisible Church as "the whole company of God's elect, actually made members of Christ by virtue of an inward, effectual calling to faith and godliness," and contrasts it with the visible or Catholic Church, "the whole company of all those throughout the world who by their doctrine and worship do outwardly make profession of the name of Christ."¹⁴

Though Sanderson believed in "the visibility of the true Church,"

¹⁰Golden Grove, *Works*, VII, 607f.

¹¹*Defence of Answer to Admonition*, *Works*, I, 373.

¹²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, I, 2.

¹³First Sermon on St. Jude, sect. 11.

¹⁴*Discourse concerning the Visibility of the True Church*, *Works*, V, 239.

Jeremy Taylor was prepared to affirm that only the invisible Church was the Church in the full and true sense. He grants that in the sight of men and in ordinary usage "the Church" means "a company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ"—a definition giving the usual intellectual emphasis upon belief. But he adds immediately that

"the professors of Christ's doctrine are but imperfectly and inchoatively the Church of God; but they who are indeed holy and obedient to Christ's laws of faith and manners; that live according to his laws, and walk by his example; these are truly and perfectly 'the Church' . . . These are the Church of God in the eyes and heart of God."

And here he presses the same point which we found to be urged by Field:

"Not that there are two Churches, or two societies, in separation from each other; or that one can be seen by men and the other cannot. . . No, these two Churches are but one society; the one is within the other. . . . The invisible Church ordinarily and regularly is part of the visible, but yet that only part that is the true one; and the rest but by denomination of law and in common speaking are the Church; not in mystical union, not in proper relation to Christ, they are not the house of God, not the temple of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ."¹⁵

In fact, he here defines the Catholic Church as the Communion of Saints, and asserts that the latter phrase is "explicative" of the former.¹⁶ And this treatment of the nature of the Church, so Protestant in its flavor, comes from the pen of a bishop writing after the Restoration. Yet Bishop Jewel, who wrote a century earlier after subjection to strong Calvinistic influences, appears to assign to the visible Church the high attributes which Taylor reserves for the invisible.

"We believe," runs his statement, "that there is one Church of God, and that the same is not shut up . . . into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world. So that . . . this Church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ."¹⁷

Even from those theologians who agree to distinguish the visible from the invisible Church, it is the visible Church which naturally receives the greater attention, since all the practical problems which en-

¹⁵*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 340f.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 342.

¹⁷*Apology of the Church of England* (Lady Bacon's translation) *Works*, VIII, 286.

listed their interest were concerned with its history or its condition. This visible Church, according to Hooker, is one body. Its unity consists in "that *one Lord* whose servants they [i. e., all its members] profess themselves, that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism* wherewith they are all initiated."¹⁸ Foremost, he continues, is the confession of Christ as Lord; but that is not enough. To be Christians we must also embrace the Christian faith which he proclaimed; and actual entrance into the Christian Church can only be by baptism. "Entered we not into the visible Church before our admittance by the door of baptism."¹⁹ Field, in listing what he calls "the privileges" of the visible Church, enumerates four:

"The first, the possession of the rich treasures of heavenly truth . . . the second is the office of teaching and witnessing the same truth; the third, the authority to judge of such differences as arise amongst men, concerning any part of it; the fourth is the power to make laws for the better guiding and governing of them that profess this truth."²⁰

The first three of these points, it may be noted, are included under Hooker's attribute of "one Faith," a fact which reminds us of Field's characteristic emphasis upon truth of doctrine; but of baptism he here makes no mention. Nor does Hooker or Field, be it remarked, name as a *necessary feature* of the visible Church the presence of bishops in the apostolic succession.²¹ Among the few who so include them is Henry Hammond, whose definition of the Holy Catholic Church in the Creed is stated in these terms:

"This Church is a society of believers, ruled and continued according to those ordinances, with the use of the Sacraments, preaching of the word, censures, etc., under bishops or pastors, succeeding those on whom the Holy Ghost came down and (by receiving ordination of those that had that power before them, i. e., of the bishops of the Church, the continued successors of the Apostles) lawfully called to those offices."²²

Since only such outward signs as professing the faith and receiving baptism are necessary for membership in the visible Church, it follows that immorality does not debar men from membership. In fact, since the Church is the net, spoken of by Jesus, which catches all kinds, it includes even schismatics and heretics. In Hooker's words, "Both

¹⁸*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, I, 3.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, I, 4, 5, 6.

²⁰*Of the Church, Works*, II, 391.

²¹The place of episcopacy in the life of the Church is the subject of the next chapter.

²²*Practical Catechism, Works*, I, 329.

heresy and many other crimes which wholly sever from God do sever from the Church of God in part only." Complete separation from the Church can come only from plain apostasy—direct and deliberate rejection of the whole Christian faith.²³

"Where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth."²⁴

Field, too, agrees that schismatics still remain members of the Church

"in respect of the profession of the whole saving truth of God, all outward acts of religion and divine worship, power of order, and holy Sacraments, which they by virtue thereof administer. . . ."²⁵

And heretics, though not members of that Catholic Church which retains the faith intact, still belong to the visible Church

"in respect of the profession of sundry divine verities, which they still retain in common with right believers, in respect of the power of order and degree of ministry, which receiving in the Church they carry out with them, and sacraments which by virtue thereof they do administer."²⁶

Even the excommunicated, according to both Hooker and Field, are not wholly excluded from membership, for excommunication, even when just, simply excludes men from fellowship in the visible Church in the performance of certain duties.²⁷

Ecclesiastical Infallibility

A problem of the times quite as insistent as the question of heresy and schism was the issue of ecclesiastical infallibility. Is any Church infallible, and if so, which Church? Article XIX of the Thirty-nine Articles gives only an incomplete answer:

"As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

Here we learn that four different Churches have erred; but whether others are fallible, or whether any is infallible, is not officially proclaimed. Several theologians, however, have more to offer. Field believes that

"if we speak of the Church as it comprehendeth the whole

²³*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXVIII, 6.

²⁴*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, I, 11.

²⁵*Of the Church*, I, 42.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 43.

²⁷*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, I, 13. Cf. *Of the Church*, I, 50.

number of believers that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, it is absolutely free from all error and ignorance of divine things that are to be known by revelation."²⁸

Even if we limit our definition to "all those believers that are and have been since the Apostles' time," it would still be free from error in matters of faith.²⁹ That is, if we take the Church in the broadest sense, and thereby limit our material to those elements of the faith on which there has been practically universal agreement, we shall find no error. Indeed, Field goes one step further to claim that even when we define the Church as the sum total of living believers,

"it is most certain and agreed upon that in things *necessary to be known and believed expressly and distinctly* it never is ignorant, much less doth err."³⁰ That "*errors not prejudicing the salvation of them that err* may be found in the Church that is at one time in the world [i. e., the universal Church at a given period], we make no doubt; only the whole and symbolical and Catholic Church, which is and was, being wholly free from error." But "*particular men and Churches may err damnably.*"³¹

The same distinction is to be found in Laud's statements in his controversy with "Fisher." "The Church," he says, "consists of men subject to error; and no one of them since the Apostles' times hath been assisted with so plentiful a measure of the Blessed Spirit as to secure him from being deceived. And all the parts being all liable to mistaking, and fallible, the whole cannot possibly be infallible in and of itself, and privileged from being deceived in some things or other."³² Yet

"that the 'whole Church' cannot 'universally' err in the doctrine of faith is most true; and it is granted by divers Protestants; so [provided] you will but understand its not erring in absolute fundamental doctrines."³³

Much the same position is taken by Sanderson, who writes that "the universal Christian Church upon earth hath never failed from the whole faith, nor ever shall fail to the world's end . . .";³⁴ and by Thorndike in his statement that "the Catholic Church of all ages and places is utterly infallible."³⁵

²⁸*Of the Church*, II, 392.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 393.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 396. [*Italics mine.*]

³¹*Ibid.*, 406. [*Italics mine.*]

³²*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works*, II, 77.

³³*Ibid.*, 155f.

³⁴*Discourse concerning the Visibility of the True Church, Works*, V, 242.

³⁵*Of the Principles of Christian Truth, Works*, II, Pt. II, 410.

The Church of England—A Branch of the Catholic Church of the Ages

The prevailing Anglican doctrine in this period, it seems clear, recognized a universal visible Church which included all baptized believers everywhere in the world, and from which only deliberate apostates were excluded. Within this grand total was the Catholic Church, which was marked by its perfect loyalty to the true faith and (according to some) by its possession of episcopacy in apostolic succession. These were the two broad meanings which were given to "the Church." As Thorndike summarizes it,

"This word Church may signify two things: first, only the whole number of Christians; secondly, a communion and corporation of those that profess true Christianity, founded by the will of God and the ministry of our Lord Christ and his Apostles";

and the latter he calls "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."⁸⁶ But within the universal Church there were many *particular* Churches,⁸⁷ and such of these as deserved it by their orthodoxy and their ancestry were also within the Catholic Church. Among these latter was the Church of England; and its character and status, especially in relation to Rome, was naturally the chief theme of Anglicans when they dealt with the nature of the Church.

The uniform and consistent teaching of all the Anglican divines whom we are studying is that the Church of England is not a new Church. It is a branch of the Catholic Church of the ages. Rejecting the dangerous errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, it remains loyal to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles and to the Faith and Order of the primitive Church. From Jewel to Stillingfleet the same thesis is steadily maintained, and at the cost of repetition we shall do well to illustrate this unanimity.

Jewel is among the first to proclaim:

"We . . . have returned again unto the primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's Church."⁸⁸ "It is true we have departed

⁸⁶*Of the Laws of the Church, Works*, V, 7, 8.

⁸⁷As the main body of the sea is one, Hooker explains, and yet its various portions have different names, so the Catholic Church is divided into a number of distinct Societies, "every one of which is termed a Church," such as the Church of Rome, the Church of England, etc. (*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, I, 14.)

⁸⁸*Recapitulation of the Apology, Works*, VIII, 386.

from them [Rome], and for so doing we both give thanks to almighty God and greatly rejoice on our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive Church, from the Apostles, and from Christ we have not departed."³⁹

Hooker, too, affirms that to reform the evils in the Church is not to depart from the Church:

"We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still."⁴⁰

In Andrewes the same thought appears. Where England dissents from Rome, Rome parts from antiquity,⁴¹ and "We do not innovate: . . . we renovate."⁴² In the words of Field,

"We have not departed from the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, but only from the faction that was in it."⁴³
 "We have not departed from the ancient faith, or forsaken the fellowship of the Catholic Church, but . . . we have forsaken a part to hold communion with the whole. . . ."⁴⁴

And elsewhere he explains that though the Reformed Churches are not to be found in most parts of the world and do not constitute a majority of believers, "yet are they Catholic."⁴⁵

Archbishop Laud speaks for all the Anglican leaders of his generation in this confession:

". . . We live in a Church reformed, not in one made new. Now all reformation that is good and orderly takes away nothing from the old but that which is faulty and erroneous."⁴⁶
 "For my faith: I die as I have lived, in the true orthodox profession of the Catholic faith of Christ . . . and a true member of his Catholic Church within the communion of a living part thereof, the present Church of England, as it stands established by law."⁴⁷

An almost identical confession may be found in the works of Joseph Hall:

"Our Church is only reformed or repaired, not made new.

³⁹*Recapitulation of the Apology, Works*, VIII, 352.

⁴⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, 1, 10.

⁴¹*Responsio, Works*, XI, 70.

⁴²*Tortura Torti, Works*, VII, 96.

⁴³*Of the Church*, IV, 520.

⁴⁴*Op. cit.*, I, XXI.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, I, 88, and cf. I, 349.

⁴⁶*History of the Troubles and Trials of Laud, Works*, III, 341.

⁴⁷*Op. cit.*, *Works*, IV, 442.

There is not one stone of a new foundation laid by us: yea, the old walls stand still; only the overcasting of those ancient stones with the untempered mortar of new inventions displeaseth us. Plainly, set aside the corruptions, and the Church is the same."⁴⁸

And in his sermon on "The Beauty and Unity of the Church" occurs this eloquent passage:

"As this flourishing Church of Great Britain . . . is one of the most conspicuous members of the Catholic upon earth; so we in her communion do make up one body with the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and faithful Christians of all ages and times. . . . We are sure we are as Catholic as true faith can make us . . . and in this undoubted right we claim and enjoy the sweet and inseparable communion with all the blessed members of that mystical body, both in earth and heaven . . ."⁴⁹

One of the most detailed and elaborate expositions of the status of the Church of England is that by Bishop Bramhall, composed between 1653 and 1658 during his exile on the Continent. It took the form of five separate works, of which the first two were *An Answer to M. de la Milletière* and *A Just Vindication of the Church of England*. In the first treatise we find these general statements:

"We [the Church of England] retained not only episcopacy, liturgy, and ceremonies, but all things else that were conformable to the discipline and public service of the primitive Church rightly understood. . . . In the point of our separation and in all things which concern either doctrine or discipline, we profess all due obedience and submission to the judgment and definitions of the truly Catholic Church . . . endeavoring to conform ourselves in all things, both in *credendis et agendis*, to whatsoever is uniform in the belief or practice, in the doctrine or discipline of the Universal Church. . . ."⁵⁰

In the later works, Bramhall deals at length with the accusations of criminal schism levelled against the Church of England. He asserts that the Church of England

"never had any such foreign Patriarch for the first six hundred years and upwards, and that it was a gross violation of the canons of the Catholic Church to attempt after that time to obtrude any foreign jurisdiction upon us; that before the Bishops of Rome ever exercised any jurisdiction in Britain,

⁴⁸*The Old Religion, Works*, VIII, 643.

⁴⁹*Sermon, Works*, V, 285.

⁵⁰*Answer to M. de la Milletière, Works*, I, 38, 81.

they had quitted their lawful Patriarchate, wherewith they were invested by the authority of the Church, for unlawful monarchy pretended to belong unto them by the institution of Christ; that whatsoever the Popes of Rome gained upon us in after ages, without our own free consent, was mere tyranny and usurpation; that our Kings with their Synods and Parliaments had power to revoke, retract and abrogate whatsoever they found by experience to become burdensome and insupportable to their subjects; that they did use in all ages, with the consent of the Church and Kingdom of England, to limit and restrain the exercise of papal power and to provide remedies against the daily encroachments of the Roman Court, so as Henry the Eighth, at the Reformation of the English Church, did but tread in the steps of his most renowned ancestors who flourished whilst Popery was in its zenith." Hence "we have not at all separated ourselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, nor of any part thereof."⁵¹ "Our separation is from their errors, not from their Churches. . . . We do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church or a new religion or new holy orders. . . . Our religion is the same it was, our Church the same it was. . . ."⁵² "The Church of England before the Reformation and the Church of England after the Reformation are as much the same Church as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded, is the same garden."⁵³

It was in words like these that Anglicans were accustomed to meet the familiar Roman taunt—"Where was your Church before Luther?" In reply to "that idle and impertinent question," Laud retorts, "it was just there where theirs is now. One and the same Church still, no doubt of that; one in substance, but not one in condition of state and purity; their part of the same Church remaining in corruption, and our part of the same Church under reformation."⁵⁴ A like response comes from Thorndike—

"When it was demanded on the behalf of the Church of Rome, Where was our Church before Luther's time? the answer hath always been, Even where it is now. The answer was that it is the same Church that it was: a Church which was sick and is now cured; which was corrupted and now is cleared of her corruptions."⁵⁵

And somewhat fuller is Field's reasoning in this passage:

"Thus then it appeareth which we think to have been the true

⁵¹*Just Vindication of the Church of England, Works, I, 95f.*

⁵²*Ibid.*, 199.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 113.

⁵⁴Epistle Dedicatory to *Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works, II,*

⁵⁵*Just Weights and Measures, Works, V, 75.*

Church of God before Luther or others of that sort were heard of in the world; namely, that wherein all our fathers lived and died; wherein none of the errors reprov'd by Luther ever found general, uniform, and full approbation; in which all the abuses removed by him were long before by all good men complained of, and a reformation desired."⁵⁶

And he then proceeds to cite such examples as Wiclif, Hus, and others.

The leaders of thought in the Church of England were not willing to plead guilty to the accusation of schism and to justify the actions of their Church by counter-charges of Roman corruption. They audaciously carried the war into the enemy's camp and accused the Roman Church of being solely responsible for whatever rupture had occurred. If any Church by its conduct had severed itself from the Catholic Church, they maintained, it was not the Anglican but the Roman.

In his work on *The Old Religion*, Bishop Hall puts the case briefly:

"Those points wherein we differ from the Romanists are they which only the Church of Rome hath made fundamental and of faith. . . . The Reformed, therefore, being by that Church illegally condemned for those points, are not heretics. . . . We have not willingly cast ourselves out of the Church. . . . Whence follows, that the Church of Rome, condemning and ejecting those for heretics which are not, is the author of this woeful breach in the Church of God."⁵⁷

Voicing the same defence, Bramhall writes,

"We maintain that the Church of Rome brought in these 'corruptions in faith, practice, liturgy, and use of the Sacraments'; and, which is more, did require the profession of her errors as a condition of communicating with her. And if so, then, by the judgment of her own doctors, the schism is justly laid at her own door, and it was 'no sin' in us but 'virtue and necessity' to separate from her."⁵⁸ "It is not we who have forsaken the essence of the modern Roman Church by substraction; but they who have forsaken the essence of the ancient Roman Church by addition. . . . No Church under heaven is really more free from just suspicion of schism than the Church of England, as not censuring nor excluding uncharitably from her communion any true Church which retains the essentials of Christian religion."⁵⁹

The point is frequently made that it is not the errors of the Roman Church as such which caused the schism but rather the action of that

⁵⁶*Of the Church*, I, 171.

⁵⁷*The Old Religion, Works*, VIII, 647.

⁵⁸*Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works*, II, 33.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 39, 43.

Church in making the acceptance of those errors necessary to salvation. As Chillingworth explains to his Roman opponent,

"You mistake in thinking that Protestants hold themselves obliged not to communicate with you only or principally by reason of your errors and corruption. For the true reason . . . is not so much because you *maintain* errors and corruptions as because you *impose* them, and will allow your communion to none but those that will hold them with you; and have so ordered your communion that either we must communicate with you in these things, or nothing."⁶⁰ "If we convince you of errors and corruptions, professed and practised in your communion, then we cannot be schismatics for refusing to join with you in the profession of these errors and the practice of these corruptions. And therefore you must free either us from schism or yourselves from error; at least from requiring the profession of it as a condition of your communion."⁶¹ "If you [of Rome] require the belief of any error among the conditions of your communion, our obligation to communicate with you ceaseth, and so the imputation of schism to us vanissheth into nothing; but lies heavy upon you for making our separation from you just and necessary by requiring unnecessary and unlawful conditions of your communion. . . . All that we forsake in you is only the belief and practice and profession of your errors. Hereupon you cast us out of your communion; and then, with a strange and contradictory and ridiculous hypocrisy, complain that we forsake it."⁶²

As Hammond expresses it, "We that were cast out cannot be said to separate."⁶³

Perhaps the fullest statement of this thesis is that by Stillingfleet in his work entitled *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion*. He makes clear the point that no *branch* of the Catholic Church has a right to demand of its communicants as *fundamentally necessary* more doctrines than are required in other branches of the Church.

"Those lesser societies [i. e., branches of the Church] cannot in justice make the necessary conditions of communion narrower than those which belong to the [whole] Catholic Church."⁶⁴ Therefore "where there is sufficient evidence from Scripture, reason, and tradition that such things which are imposed are unreasonable conditions of Christian communion, the not communicating with that society which requires these

⁶⁰*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 342f. [*Italics mine.*]

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 347.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 44, 43.

⁶³*Of Schism, Works*, II, 284.

⁶⁴*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, II, 4.

things cannot incur the guilt of schism."⁶⁵ "So that the Church of Rome's imposing unlawful conditions of communion is the reason why we do not communicate with her, and the Church of England's power to govern and to take care of herself is the reason of our joining together in the service of God upon the principles of our reformation. On these grounds I doubt not but to make it appear how free the Church of England is from all imputation of schism."⁶⁶

Warning the Romanists that "a Church may separate herself from the communion of the Catholic by taking upon her to make such things the necessary conditions of her communion which never were the conditions of communion with the Catholic Church," Stillfleet concludes, "Yours is the schismatical Church, and not ours."⁶⁷

The Anglican Position as Against Rome

Whether Anglican thinkers are writing on the sources of religious authority or on the Church of England and its status, they make constant references, as is well known, to "the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome." What are these errors and corruptions? To answering that question they devote many controversial volumes, of which Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England* (1562) and Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery* (1664-7) are familiar examples, marking the beginning and the end of our period. Since to follow these controversies in detail would be to lay too great emphasis upon the negative aspect of Anglican thought, our purpose will be to state the Anglican position only by brief but typical selections from a variety of writers.

The general thesis maintained is stated in these few words by Jewel:

"... They [the Church of Rome] have spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only ordinances but even the doctrine of the primitive Church."⁶⁸

That is to say, the "errors and corruptions" are branded as such because they cannot be justified either by Scripture or by sound tradition.

"None of those erroneous positions," writes Field, "which at this day they of the Romish faction do defend and we impugn, were ever constantly received in the days of our fathers, as the doctrine of that Church wherein they lived and died, but only doubtfully disputed of, as things not clearly resolved, or

⁶⁵*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, II, 5.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 114f.

⁶⁸*Apology of the Church of England, Works*, VIII, 356.

broached only as the private fancies and conceits of particular men."⁶⁹

A spirited indictment of Roman corruption, which may serve as a preview of most of the errors we shall enumerate, may be found in Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*. At Roman Catholics he hurls these demands:

"Cast away the vain and arrogant pretence of infallibility, which makes your errors incurable. Leave picturing God, and worshipping him by pictures. 'Teach not for doctrine the commandments of men.' Debar not the laity of the testament of Christ's blood. Let your public prayers and psalms and hymns be in such language as is for the edification of the assistants. Take not from the clergy that liberty of marriage which Christ hath left them. Do not impose upon men that humility of worshipping angels which St. Paul condemns. Teach no more proper sacrifices of Christ but one. Acknowledge them that die in Christ to be blessed, and 'to rest from their labors.' Acknowledge the Sacrament, after consecration, to be bread and wine, as well as Christ's body and blood. Acknowledge the gift of continency without marriage not to be given to all. Let not the weapons of your warfare be carnal, such as are massacres, treasons, persecutions, and, in a word, all means either violent or fraudulent: these and other things which the Scripture commands you, do, and then we shall willingly give you such testimony as you deserve; but, till you do so, to talk of estimation, respect, and reverence to the Scripture is nothing else but talk."⁷⁰

Of all the many Roman heresies, none, in the eyes of Anglicans, was more vicious in producing evil than the uncompromising claim of papal supremacy. To this source might be traced not only the developing doctrine of papal infallibility, employed to justify new dogmas, but the manifest political dangers with which England was threatened by Rome. Indeed, the very existence of the Church of England as an independent national Church was an unpardonable case of schism if papal claims to supreme authority were valid.

"... Neither the Pope," Jewel declares, "nor any other worldly creature can no more be head of the whole Church or a bishop over all than he can be the bridegroom, the light, the salvation and life of the Church. For the privileges and names belong only to Christ and be properly and only fit for him alone."⁷¹ And the fundamental reason for this denial of authority is stated in few words by Whitgift:

⁶⁹*Of the Church*, II, 5.

⁷⁰*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 90.

⁷¹*Apology of the Church of England, Works*, VIII, 287.

"It is not to be found in Scripture that the Bishop of Rome ought to be the head of the Church, and therefore it is not necessary to salvation to believe that he ought to be the head of the Church. . . ."⁷²

Needless to say, the Petrine claim based on "Thou art Peter" (Matt. 16:18) is repudiated with contempt. Hooker declares,

"Neither will any Pope or papist under the cope of heaven be able to prove the Romish bishops usurped supremacy over all Churches by any one word of the covenant of salt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our streets do now laugh them to scorn when they force 'Thou art Peter' to this purpose."⁷³

Hammond, like many others, rejects this Roman interpretation, with the comment that the power which Christ's commission gave to Peter was intrusted to every other Apostle. There was no special power given to Peter. Therefore no special supreme power can devolve upon his successors.⁷⁴ And the same objection is raised by Taylor—"Who made the Bishop of Rome to be the ecclesiastical lawgiver to Christendom? For every bishop hath from Christ equal power, and there is no difference but what is introduced by men. . . ."⁷⁵

As for the Papacy as the organ of infallibility in doctrine, every Anglican would agree with Chillingworth's declaration—

"We are infallibly certain that your Church is not infallible, and indeed hath not the real prescription of this privilege, but only pleaseth herself with a false imagination and vain presumption of it. . . ."⁷⁶

And Ussher scornfully remarks that to obtain unity at the cost of papal infallibility is "nothing else but a wilful suffering of themselves to be led blindfold by one man, who commonly is more blind than many of themselves."⁷⁷

One deadly example of the exercise of papal authority was the action of the Pope in deposing heretical rulers and releasing subjects from their allegiance. Ever since Pius V excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth in 1570—an event followed by a plot against her life—this menace to the State had been far more than theoretical. The claim to such a perilous degree of political power was denounced by Anglican

⁷²*Answer to the Admonition, Works, I, 180.*

⁷³First Sermon on St. Jude, sect. 15.

⁷⁴*Of Schism, Works, II, 244f.*

⁷⁵*Ductor Dubitantium, Works, X, 374.*

⁷⁶*Religion of Protestants, Works, 102.*

⁷⁷*Sermon Preached before His Majesty, Works, II, 481.*

leaders from that time onward. It was in 1621—years after the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot—that Sanderson numbered among the crimes of Rome “assoiling of subjects from their oaths and allegiance, plotting treasons and practising rebellions, excommunicating and dethroning kings, arbitrary disposing of kingdoms, stabbing and murdering princes, warranting unjust invasions, and blowing up Parliament houses.”⁷⁸ And twenty-six years later the words of Jeremy Taylor are no less strong—

“If we consider their doctrines in relation to government and public societies of men, then if they prove faulty, they are so much the more intolerable by how much the consequents are of greater danger and malice; such doctrines as these,—The Pope may dispense with all oaths taken to God or man; he may absolve subjects from their allegiance to their natural prince; faith is not to be kept with heretics; heretical princes may be slain by their subjects. . . . These opinions are a direct overthrow to all human society and mutual commerce, a destruction of government, and of the laws, and duty and subordination which we owe to princes; and therefore those men of the Church of Rome that do hold them and preach them cannot pretend to the excuses of innocent opinions and hearty persuasions. . . .”⁷⁹

Another consequence of the exaltation of papal power was the growing tendency to ascribe to the Pope infallibility in the pronouncement of doctrine. Though of course this was not officially promulgated as dogma until the nineteenth century, there were those who believed it long before 1870; and acknowledgement of the infallibility of the Church of Rome, through whatever organ it might become vocal, was required of all Roman Catholics. So far as this claim was certain to result in the imposition of dogmas which formerly had not been regarded as necessary, it was the object of constant attack by Anglican writers.

Such variation in fundamentals is denounced by Laud in his controversy with his Jesuit opponent.

“That which is fundamental in the faith of Christ,” he insists, “is a rock immovable and can never be varied—never. Therefore, if it be fundamental after the Church hath defined it, it was fundamental before the definition; else it is movable; and then no Christian hath where to rest. And if it be immovable, as indeed it is, no decree of a Council, be it never so general, can alter immovable verities, no more than it can change im-

⁷⁸Sermon II, *ad Clerum*, *Works*, II, 60.

⁷⁹*Liberty of Prophesying*, *Works*, V, 594f.

movable natures. Therefore if the Church in a Council define any thing, the thing defined is not fundamental because the Church hath defined it; nor can it be made so by the definition of the Church if it be not so in itself."⁸⁰

That is the meaning of Hall's briefer statement—

"The Roman is a particular Church. . . . No particular Church, to say nothing of the universal since the apostolic times, can have power to make a fundamental point of faith. It may explain or declare; it cannot create articles."⁸¹

Or, as Taylor states it,

"That the Church of Rome cannot pretend that all which she imposes is primitive and apostolic, appears in this: that in the Church of Rome there is pretence made to a power not only of declaring new articles of faith but of making new symbols or creeds, and imposing them as of necessity to salvation. . . . This very power of making new articles is a novelty, and expressly against the doctrine of the primitive Church. . . . And yet in the Church of Rome faith and Christianity increase like the moon."⁸²

Except for the Roman pretensions to papal supremacy and to the infallibility of the Church of Rome, most of the "errors and corruptions" under Anglican attack were those connected with the Sacraments. Article XXV of the Thirty-nine Articles announces that Christ ordained only two Sacraments—"Baptism and the Supper of the Lord," and that "those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures. . . ." Little attention, however, is paid by English theologians of this era to the question of the number of the Sacraments. The greater part of their writing in this field deals with the Eucharist in all its aspects. But since the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist is the subject of a later chapter, we may avoid some repetition by giving only a little space to the assaults on Roman teaching.

The Roman doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice is repudiated. In the first place, as Jewel notes, none of the Apostles or early Fathers

⁸⁰*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works, II, 33f.*

⁸¹*The Old Religion, Works, VIII, 646.*

⁸²*Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. I, Works, VI, 184, 187.*

use the term "Mass."⁸³ But far more important than that is the fact that Rome maintains

the "errors, abuses, and sacrilege of the Mass . . . to the open derogation of the sacrifice and cross of Christ. . . . We offer not up Christ's body to be a propitiatory sacrifice for us unto his Father: for that sacrifice is once wrought for all upon the cross, and there is none other sacrifice left to be offered for sin."⁸⁴

In this affirmation Jewel is of course echoing the words of Article XXXI which pronounces the sacrifice of Christ on the cross to be a perfect satisfaction for sins, and adds that the teaching that "the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt," is a tissue of "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

Repeatedly and vigorously, through succeeding generations, the doctrine of transubstantiation is derided. Here, too, the Articles give official approval in the statement in Article XXVIII that

"Transubstantiation . . . in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."

Whole chapters in later divines are devoted to disproving transubstantiation by an appeal to reason, for Taylor was only one of many to feel that "he that believes transubstantiation can believe anything."⁸⁵ But the obvious objection is more frequently urged that it is contrary to both Scripture and tradition. To cite only two of many urgent witnesses, we may quote the words of Andrewes and of Bramhall.

"It is perfectly clear," writes Andrewes, "that transubstantiation, which has lately been born in the last four hundred years, never existed in the first four hundred. . . . In opposition to the Jesuits our men deny that the Fathers had anything to do with the fact of transubstantiation, any more than with the name."⁸⁶

And Bramhall stresses the same point in replying to M de la Milletière

"The new doctrine of transubstantiation is so far from being an old article of faith, that it was not well digested nor rightly understood . . . by the greatest clerks and most concerned, above a thousand years after Christ. The first definition or determi-

⁸³*Reply unto M. Harding's Answer, Works, I, 167.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 192, 194.

⁸⁵Introduction to *Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 325.

⁸⁶*Responsio*, in *Works*, XI, 262.

nation of this manner of the Presence was yet later, in the Council of Lateran . . . after the year 1200."⁸⁷

Not only were the fundamental doctrines relating to the Mass condemned, but also several familiar usages which accompanied it. One was the custom of offering the consecrated elements for adoration—"a great matter," Jewel says, "full of danger and full of jeopardy," for Christ, "when he ordained and delivered the Sacrament of his body and blood gave no commandment that any man should fall down to it, or worship it. . . . It is a very new device, and, as it is well known, came but lately into the Church."⁸⁸ In similar words the Twenty-fifth Article had declared that "the Sacraments were not ordained by Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them."

Another practice found objectionable was the saying of "private" Masses, that is, non-communicating Masses involving only the priest and an assistant. For Jewel it is enough that

"for the space of six hundred years or more . . . there was no private Mass in the Catholic Church of Christ in any country or coast throughout the world. For all the writers that were within the compass of that time have left behind them witness sufficient of a communion; but not one of them all could ever tell us of any private Mass."⁸⁹

Still another custom severely censured was the denial of the Cup to the laity. The Thirtieth Article ordains that

"the Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people; for both parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike."

This familiar position is reasserted by all subsequent writers who deal with the Eucharist. Laud is only one of many who reiterates that Christ himself instituted the Sacrament in both kinds—a fact confessed by the Roman as well as the Protestant Churches. Scorning the doctrine that in receiving the body in the bread the communicant receives also the blood "by concomitance," Laud remarks, "I hope Christ knew it; and then why did he so unusefully institute it in both kinds?" Moreover, "if this be true, 'concomitancy' accompanies the priest as well

⁸⁷ *Answer to M. de la Milletière, Works*, I, 14.

⁸⁸ Sermon at Paul's Cross, *Works*, I, 14f.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

as the people: and then why may not he receive it in one kind also?"⁹⁰
And Taylor summarizes it in this fashion:

"Christ's testament ordains it [Communion in both kinds], the Church of Rome forbids it; it was the primitive custom to obey Christ in this, a later custom is by the Church of Rome introduced to the contrary."

And now Rome damns those as heretics who follow Christ and his institution.⁹¹

Finally, we may note the universal heavy disapproval of the use of Latin in the Mass, a practice denounced in Article XXIV and nowhere rebuked more effectively than by Bishop Jewel in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross. First he quotes St. Paul's declaration, "I had rather utter five words in the congregation with understanding of my meaning, so that the rest may have instruction thereby, than ten thousand words in a strange and unknown tongue." And he then proceeds to say:

"... Before the Church grew to corruption all Christian men throughout the world made their common prayers and had the Holy Communion in their own common and known tongue. But in the Mass, as it hath been used in this latter age of the world, the priest uttereth the holy mysteries in such a language as neither the people, nor oftentimes himself, understandeth the meaning. . . . Think you this was Christ's meaning when he ordained the Communion first? Think you that St. Paul received these things of the Lord and delivered the same to the Corinthians?"⁹²

In dealing with the Eucharist as expounded and practised by the Church of Rome, Anglican thinkers were treating a sacrament which they acknowledged to be ordained by Christ, and their hostile criticism was directed solely toward what they viewed as corruptions. In the case of the sacrament of Penance, on the contrary, they encountered a set of beliefs and usages which they wholly repudiated, for they were convinced that there ought to be no such sacrament at all. Though they were quite ready to agree that private confession of a Christian to his priest, followed by a declaration of absolution, was wholesome and orthodox, they condemned *compulsory* auricular confession, together with most of the teaching which had gathered around it.

Hooker, for example, definitely denies the necessity for sacramental

⁹⁰*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works, II, 338f.*

⁹¹*Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. I, Works, VI, 208.*

⁹²*Sermon at Paul's Cross, Works, I, 12.*

confession as a means to salvation on the ground that it cannot be justified by Scripture.⁹³ The most extensive treatment of the subject, however, is that by Jeremy Taylor, for he was an experienced confessor and casuist, more interested in morality than in theology. He refuses to grant the imperative need for sacramental confession, and denounces many of the theories and customs which accompany it. On the first point he expresses these convictions—

"That confession to a priest is a doctrine taught as necessary in the Church of Rome is without all question; and yet that it is but the commandment of men I shall (I hope) clearly enough evince. . . . Whether to confess to a priest be an advisable discipline, and a good instance, instrument, and ministry of repentance, and may serve many good ends in the Church, and to the souls of needing persons, it is no part of the question. . . . The question then is, whether to confess all our greater sins to a priest, all that upon strict enquiry we can remember, be necessary to salvation. This the Church of Rome now affirms; and this the Church of England and all Protestant Churches deny."⁹⁴

But it is not only the institution of this compulsory sacrament which Taylor, like other Anglicans, opposes; he deplores also the lax principles upon which it is administered. The ready substitution of "attrition" for "contrition" he considers to be shocking.

"As 'contrition,'" he writes, "without their ritual and sacramental confession will not reconcile us to God; so 'attrition,' as they call it, or contrition imperfect, proceeding from fear of damnation, together with their sacrament *will* reconcile the sinner. . . . There is no necessity of contrition at all; and attrition is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon."⁹⁵

Another rock of offence is the facility with which dispensations from oaths and other obligations can be obtained:

"Not only to heretics, but to our friends also, we may break our promises if the Pope give us leave. . . . No words can bind your faith because you can be dispensed with . . . and you cannot be tied so fast but the Pope can unloose you."⁹⁶

A further result of Roman laxity which always proved particularly objectionable to Taylor was the easy treatment of deathbed repentance. To use his own indignant words,

⁹³*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VI, IV, 5.

⁹⁴*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 503f.

⁹⁵*Op. cit.*, Pt. I, *Works*, VI, 229. [*Italics mine.*]

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 275, 277.

"One act of grief, a little one, and that not for one sin more than another, and this at the end of a long wicked life, at the time of our death, will make all sure. Upon these terms it is a wonder that all wicked men in the world are not papists; where they may live so merrily, and die so securely, and are out of all danger, unless peradventure they die very suddenly, which because so very few do, the venture is esteemed nothing, and it is a thousand to one on the sinners' side."⁹⁷

In short, as he once confessed to a Roman Catholic, "If I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven at last, I would be of your religion above any in the world."⁹⁸

Closely associated with the sacrament of Penance was the doctrine of the Treasury of Merits and the dependent practice of granting indulgences. Hooker asserts belief in the Treasury of Merits to be "a strange and a strong delusion,"⁹⁹ and Bramhall refers to it contemptuously in these words:

"They are not the Protestants then, but the Romanists who 'pare off the pith of Christ's heavenly priesthood' . . . who mix the sufferings of the saints with the blood of Christ to make up the treasury of the Church; who multiply their mediators as the heathen do their tutelary Gods."¹⁰⁰

On those who hold this doctrine, Taylor urges this acute argument:

"Neither can they speak rationally to the great question, whether the treasure of the Church consists of the satisfactions of Christ only, or of the saints. For if of saints, it will by all men be acknowledged to be a defeasible estate, and being finite and limited, will be spent sooner than the needs of the Church can be served; and if therefore it be necessary to add the merits and satisfaction of Christ, since they are an ocean of infinity, and can supply more than all our needs, to what purpose is it to add the little minutes and droppings of the saints?"¹⁰¹

As for indulgences, Taylor describes them, a century and a half after Luther, as an "intolerable abuse."

"It is so wholly new, so merely devised and forged by themselves, so newly created out of nothing, from great mistakes of Scripture and dreams of shadows from antiquity . . ."¹⁰²

Another group of Roman errors and corruptions officially con-

⁹⁷*Op. cit.*, I, *Works*, VI, 230.

⁹⁸*Letter to a Gentlewoman Seduced to the Church of Rome*, *Works*, VI, 651.

⁹⁹Second Sermon on St. Jude, sect. 21.

¹⁰⁰*Protestants' Ordination Defended*, *Works*, V, 220.

¹⁰¹*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. I, *Works*, VI, 192f.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 188, 190.

demned by the Church of England and attacked by its theologians appears in Article XXII, which reads as follows:

"The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

For all English divines of that age Taylor speaks in describing the doctrine of Purgatory ("the mother of indulgences," he calls it) as "a novelty" contrary to the teaching of all the early Fathers.¹⁰³ In stronger terms, Jewel had denounced it a hundred years before as "a thing so very late risen amongst them yet . . . no better than a blockish and an old wives' device."¹⁰⁴ Among the sinners against the second Commandment, Cosin lists

"they that are worshippers of saints' images and out of a false opinion of demeriting the protection of the blessed Virgin or any other saint of God, do give a religious adoration to those usual representments which be made of them."¹⁰⁵

And against the invocation of saints there are frequent protests. Thorndike, for example, tells us that

"he that saith saints and angels pray for us saith not that we are to pray to saints or angels; nor can he say it without idolatry, intending that we are to do that to them which they do to God for us."¹⁰⁶

And Bramhall expresses these searching comments:

"Your invocation of saints . . . is not necessary for two reasons: first, no saint doth love us so well as Christ; no saint hath given us such assurance of his love or done so much for us as Christ; no saint is so willing or able to help us as Christ; and secondly, we have no command from God to invoke them. . . . We have no certainty that they do hear our particular prayers . . ."¹⁰⁷

Even now the catalogue of "errors and corruptions" is incomplete, for there is to be found here and there mention of other doctrines branded as heretical, such as the doctrines of justification and of merit as formulated at the Council of Trent, the doctrine of "inten-

¹⁰³*Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II, *Works*, VI, 543-566.

¹⁰⁴*Apology of the Church of England*, *Works*, VIII, 297.

¹⁰⁵*Private Devotions*, *Works*, II, 114.

¹⁰⁶*Of the Laws of the Church*, *Works*, IV, Pt. II, 768.

¹⁰⁷*Answer to M. de la MiHetièrre*, *Works*, I, 57f.

tion" as applied to all sacraments, and the doctrine, already in evidence, of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. In the field of practices, too, further customs are attacked as evil—the prohibition of the Bible to the laity, the encouragement of mechanical praying, and the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. Curiously enough, however, in view of the assaults on monasticism under Henry VIII, it is hard to find passages condemning it. But one bitter paragraph from Sander-son may serve to indicate that this institution in its degenerate form was not overlooked.

"It is well known in this our land," he says, "how both Church and Commonwealth groaned under the burden of these heavy lubbers [the monks]. . . . Their profession is, God be thanked, now long since suppressed and their habitations demolished by the violent and Jehu-like reformation of a mighty king. . . . There is nothing of them now remaineth but the rubbish of their nests and the stink of their memory, unless it be the sting of their devilish sacrilege in robbing the Church by damnable impropriations."¹⁰⁸

The Moderation of the Anglican Position

If the Church of Rome was as evil in thought and actions as its Anglican enemies believed and taught, two questions naturally called for answers: first, how far should the Church of England go in rejecting Roman doctrines and practices, and secondly, how far did the Roman Church deserve to be recognized as a true Church? In meeting these contemporary issues Anglicanism maintained a moderate position in contrast with that of other Reformed Churches.

The leaders of the Church of England refused to rush to the Puritan extreme of abolishing Roman institutions, doctrines, and customs simply because they were Roman. Much of the Puritan discontent and revolt in the last thirty years of the sixteenth century sprang from Puritan insistence that more and more of the traditions and usages of the Church of England should be abandoned because they were "popish"; and no small part of the writings of Whitgift and Hooker was devoted to combatting this fanatical desire for total purgation. Anglicanism from the beginning took the reasonable stand that every dogma, institution, and practice must be judged on its merits, regardless of whether or not it was Roman. Abundant evidence from the time of Whitgift to that of Taylor testifies to this consistent attitude.

An early example of this typical common sense appears in Whit-

¹⁰⁸Sermon IV, *ad Populum*, *Works*, III, 107.

gift's reply to many trivial Puritan objections to minor ceremonies and church equipment. "... We must, I think," he writes, "have no more to do with this argument: 'The Pope invented them; ergo, they are not to be used'; but this must be the question, 'whether they have any use or profit in those things or ends wherein or whereunto they are now used?'"¹¹⁰ And on a later page he continues,

"Things that be good and profitable, and have a necessary use, tending to the edifying of the Church, and the worshipping of God, are not to be utterly removed for the abuses crept in; but the abuse must be taken away, and the thing still remain. If all things should be abrogated because they were kept of the papists, there would be a marvellous alteration both in the Church and in the Commonweal."¹¹¹

Exactly the same reply to the Puritans is made by Hooker, who says, "We deny that whatsoever is popish we ought to abrogate."¹¹² "What ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of Rome, we therefore retain them for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such that others instead of them would be worse."¹¹³ To swing to the opposite extreme of Rome, he urges, is not the best way to "banish popery."

"He that will take away extreme heat by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too."¹¹⁴

In short, as he sums it up elsewhere, "We had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love."¹¹⁵

At a later date Laud, with the liturgy in mind, declares the same principle:

"... All reformation that is good and orderly takes away nothing from the old but that which is faulty and erroneous. . . . Every line in the Massbook or other popish rituals, are [*sic*] not all evil and corruptions. There are many good prayers in them; nor is anything evil in them only because 'tis there."¹¹⁶

And in more colorful language Jeremy Taylor repeats the thought. Granting that many Anglican prayers are also in the Roman offices, he continues,

¹¹⁰*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works, II, 2.*

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 566.

¹¹²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. IV, III, 1.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, IV, 2.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, VIII, 1.

¹¹⁵*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, XXVIII, 1.

¹¹⁶*History of the Troubles and Trials of Laud, Works, III, 341.*

"But so are they also in the Scripture, so also is the Lord's Prayer; and if they were not, yet the allegation is very inartificial, and the charge peevish and unreasonable, unless there were nothing good in the Roman books, or that it were unlawful to pray a good prayer which they had once stained with red letters."¹¹⁶

If the Roman Church was as far gone in evil and decay as both Anglican and Continental Protestants believed, what justification was there for calling it a true Church? Could it rightly be regarded as a genuine branch of the Catholic Church? Calvinistic Puritanism returned a negative answer, announcing that the Church of Rome was not only no Church at all but the actual embodiment of Anti-Christ. The Anglican verdict, however, was both more charitable and more rational.

The leaders of Anglican thought were no less vigorous than the Puritans in denouncing Roman corruptions, and they invariably counted their own Church to be a Protestant Church; but they carefully distinguished between a "true" Church and a "right" Church. In presenting the case for Rome the soundest expositor is Richard Hooker. Affirming that the Church of England does not share or condone the gross abominations found in the Church of Rome, he adds the vital statement:

"Yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they [the Church of Rome] constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ."¹¹⁷

In other words, the Roman Catholic Church is a true Church because it fulfills the requirements of the visible Church, namely, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. Both here and elsewhere he warns the Puritans not to confuse error with crime, not to let indignation at Rome's heresies blind them to the fact that the Church of Rome is part of the visible Church of Christ.¹¹⁸ He makes the distinction clear by stressing the fact that only a Church which denies the *foundation* of the faith can cease to be a Church. The foundation of the faith is the acceptance of Christ as the Son of God and the Savior of the world, and from this core of the faith Rome has never departed.¹¹⁹ Defying the Puritans

¹¹⁶Preface to *Apology for Liturgy, Works*, V, 237.

¹¹⁷*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, I, 10.

¹¹⁸*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, LXVIII, 9.

¹¹⁹Sermon II, sections 14, 16.

who attacked him for preaching that Romanists could be saved, he proclaimed in a sermon:

"I dare not . . . deny the possibility of their salvation which have been the chiefest instruments of ours. . . . Forasmuch . . . as . . . the Church of Rome . . . doth not directly deny the foundations of Christianity, I may, I trust without offence, persuade myself that thousands of our fathers in former times, living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God."¹²⁰

Though Field goes so far as to describe the Roman Church as "the synagogue of Satan, the faction of Anti-Christ," he confesses that it "is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise than other societies of heretics are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and ministereth the true sacrament of baptism. . . ."¹²¹ Convictions identical with those of Hooker are expressed by Laud and Hall and Sanderson. Laud states that

"a Church that is exceeding corrupt, both in manners and doctrine, and so a dishonor to the name, is yet a true Church in the verity of essence; as a Church is a company of men which profess the faith of Christ and are baptized into his name: but yet it is not therefore a 'right' Church either in doctrine or manners."¹²²

Hall puts it in these words:

"No man can say but the Church of Rome holds some truths; those truths are God's, and in his right ours. . . . I say, then, that she is a true Church; but I say, withal, she is a false Church: true in existence but false in belief. . . . If we do not yield her the true being of a Church, why do we call her the Church of Rome?"¹²³

In Sanderson the thought appears in almost the same language:

"A total and utter defection from the whole faith of Christ in doctrine and worship destroys the very being of a Church and maketh it no Church at all. But a defection from the purity of faith doth not take away the being of a Church. It remains still a true Church absolutely, but only maketh it an impure and corrupt Church, and so far forth a false Church respectively."¹²⁴

And like quotations might be cited from Bramhall, Chillingworth, Tay-

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, sect. 17.

¹²¹*Of the Church*, IV, 572, 527.

¹²²*Conference between Laud and Fisher, Works*, II, 144.

¹²³*The Reconciler, Works*, VIII, 728f.

¹²⁴*Discourse concerning the Visibility of the True Church, Works*, V, 240.

lor, and Stillingfleet, to show how unanimous, in this matter of grave importance, was Anglican thought.

Yet even though the Roman Catholic Church remained a "true" Church, its heresies and "abominations" were such that the ultimate salvation of its members could not easily be taken for granted. On this point the charitable judgment of most Anglicans (exasperating, no doubt, to their Roman opponents) finds expression in a line of Chillingworth's:

"[English Protestants] censure your errors deeply, yet . . . with their deepest censure it may well consist that invincible ignorance may excuse you from damnation for them."¹²⁵

In all this sixteenth and seventeenth century strife with Rome, we look almost in vain for any note of Christian sympathy or mutual understanding. The contestants on both sides seem to be not merely opponents but enemies. Yet now and again, in his better moments, an English divine speaks a few wise and charitable words. Such are those which we find in John Bramhall's powerful work, *A Just Vindication of the Church of England*. Bramhall was a sharp controversialist with rather a quick temper, but he could express thoughts about reconciliation and reunion which are as valuable today as they were when he wrote them:

"It hath been long debated whether the Protestant and Roman Churches be reconcilable or not. Far be it from me to make myself a judge of that controversy. Thus much I have observed, that they who understand the fewest controversies make the most and the greatest. If questions were truly stated by moderate persons, both the number and the height would be much abated. Many differences are grounded upon mistakes of one another's sense. Many are mere logomachies or contentions about words. Many are merely scholastical, above the capacity and apprehension of ordinary brains. And many doubtless are real . . . both in doctrine and discipline. But whether the distance be so great, or how far any of these are necessary to salvation, or do intrench upon the fundamentals of religion, requires a serious, judicious, and impartial consideration. There is great difference between the reconciliation of the persons, and the reconciliation of the opinions. Men may vary in their judgments, and yet preserve Christian unity and charity in their affections one towards another, so as the errors be not destructive to fundamental articles."¹²⁶

¹²⁵*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 62.

¹²⁶*Vindication, Works*, I, 278f.

Chapter III

Episcopacy and the Other Orders

THE MAIN TOPIC of Anglican controversies with representatives of the Church of Rome, as we have seen, was the nature and status of the Church of England, because it was the Church of Rome which denied the claim of the Church of England to be an orthodox branch of the Catholic Church. But the main topic of Anglican controversies with representatives of English Puritanism or of Calvinistic Protestantism was the nature and origin of episcopacy, because it was these bodies which not only denied that episcopacy was of divine origin but actually proclaimed it to be contrary to the will of God as revealed in Scripture. While in the last chapter we found Anglicans to be arrayed, for the most part, with Protestants against Roman Catholics, on this subject of episcopacy we shall find Anglicans, for the most part, siding with Romanists against Protestants.

A Notable General Agreement

Though we shall discover among early Anglican divines certain differences of opinion as to the history and nature of episcopacy, their general agreement is notable. A substantial majority maintain the standard belief that episcopacy, through whatever stages it may have been evolved, is of divine origin, and that holy orders are indelible. Of Orders in general Hooker declares:

"The ministry of things divine is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. . . . [Ministers] are . . . ministers of God as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's ambassadors and his laborers, who should give them their commission but he whose most inward affairs they manage?"¹

And he proceeds to affirm that the ministry has "a kind of mark or character . . . acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other

¹*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXXVII, 1.

men, and maketh them a special *order* consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference, therefore, from other men is in that they are a distinct *order*."² Moreover,

"Let them know which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God they are made his peculiar inheritance forever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off the use or exercise of power before given: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth."

And this principle he applies even to heretics.³

The words uttered in ordination, Hooker continues, namely, "Receive the Holy Ghost," signify the gifts of the Holy Ghost, among which are included the power and authority to be ministers of the Church. These words, he tells us, simply transmit to the individual the power with which the Spirit of Christ has endowed his Church—"such power as neither prince nor potentate, king nor Caesar on earth can give."⁴ The minister who is ordained receives the Holy Ghost to guide and support him in the discharge of all his duties. Thus "whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatsoever, as disposers of God's mysteries, our words, judgments, acts and deeds are not ours but the Holy Ghost's."⁵ And of bishops in particular it may be said,

"If anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; and the Holy Ghost was the author of it."⁶ "In the writings of the ancient Fathers there is not anything with more serious asseveration inculcated than that it is God which maketh bishops, that their authority hath divine allowance, that the bishop is the priest of God, that he is judge in Christ's stead. . . ."⁷

Nowhere else as fully, but often quite as positively, this conviction is expressed by later theologians. Laud, for one, writes,

"Bishops might be regulated and limited by human laws in those things which are but incidents to their calling; but their calling, as far as it is *jure divino*, by divine right, cannot be taken away."⁸

²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXXVII, 2.

³*Ibid.*, 3, 4.

⁴*Ibid.*, 5.

⁵*Ibid.*, 8.

⁶*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, V, 10.

⁷*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, XVI, 9.

⁸*History of Troubles and Trials of Laud, Works*, IV, 310f.

And, as another instance, Joseph Hall asserts, "We plead the divine right of episcopacy. . . . The office [of bishop] is from God; the place and station and power wherein that office is exercised is from the King. It is the King that gives the bishopric; it is God that makes the bishop."⁹

Though such theological statements are frequent enough to be counted as typical of the majority, most of these thinkers in the Church of England were less concerned with the theology of episcopacy than with its history. In defending the institution, their primary appeal was to the facts recorded in Scripture and transmitted by tradition. Confronted with Puritan opponents, they invariably cried out against the novelty of the presbyterian system as compared with the impressive antiquity of episcopacy.

"A very strange thing sure it were," Hooker reminds them, "that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his Apostles in the word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed everywhere throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it."¹⁰

It is this startling contrast which moves Bishop Hall to write:

"... To depart from the judgment and practice of the universal Church of Christ ever since the Apostles' times, and to betake ourselves to a new invention, cannot but be, besides the danger, vehemently scandalous."¹¹

The burden of proof, it was often urged, certainly lay upon the Puritans.

"... If the rank of bishop over their presbyters," Thorndike writes, "be not only a just human ordinance, but estated in possession of sixteen hundred years, without deceit or violence at the beginning, let me have leave to think it will be hard to show a better title of human right for any estate upon the earth."¹²

By this argument from antiquity, however, the Puritans were never convinced. To their way of thinking, the Bible had presented a definite Church polity, and the fact that the Church had long ignored this prescription was no excuse for continued disobedience. In meeting this

⁹*Humble Remonstrance, Works*, IX, 289f.

¹⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Preface, IV, 1.

¹¹*Episcopacy by Divine Right, Works*, IX, 185.

¹²*Of the Government of Churches, Works*, I, Pt. I, 92.

persistent dogmatism, Anglican writers had to decide whether the Scriptures really did demand a specific form of Church government, and if so what it was. Some denied, while others agreed, that Scripture could be used for proof of a polity. Whitgift, among others is strongly negative.

"I deny," he says, "that the Scriptures do express particularly everything that is to be done in the Church . . . or that it doth set down any one certain form and kind of government of the Church, to be perpetual for all times, persons and places, without alteration."¹³

Hooker takes the same position in his statement in the Preface to the *Ecclesiastical Polity* that

"what was used in the Apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of the Church polity, ye make a rule which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept."¹⁴

Jeremy Taylor, on the other hand, insists, that we can learn from the New Testament just what form of Church government was ordained by Christ for all time, though he finds, of course, a different design from that discovered by the Puritans.

"Christ left a government in his Church," he contends, "and founded it in the persons of the Apostles. . . . If Christ was the author of it, then as Christ left it, so it must abide forever."¹⁵

Or, as he expresses it elsewhere, "If the Church be not now governed as then [in the New Testament], we can show no divine authority for our government."¹⁶ Here the later and lesser divine is opposed to Hooker's assertion, "Neither God's being author of laws for government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all Churches should forever be bound to keep them without change."¹⁷

Disagreement about the *extent* to which the Bible supplies a model for Church government does not imply any failure on the part of Anglicans to maintain their steadfast principle that Scripture is the sole final authority. They differ from their opponents, first, on the question as to how detailed is the polity that Scripture authorizes, and sec-

¹³*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works*, I, 191.

¹⁴*Ecc. Pol.*, Preface, IV, 4.

¹⁵Consecration Sermon, *Works*, VIII, 312.

¹⁶*Episcopacy Asserted, Works*, V, 35.

¹⁷*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. III, X, 7.

ondly, as to what that polity is. For the Presbyterians every feature of an elaborate plan can be proved to be divinely ordained, and that plan is the presbyterian plan. But the leaders of Anglican thought, in defending episcopacy as the true system, appeal for support, in varying proportions, both to the New Testament and to ancient and sound tradition. Their historical insight (though dim by modern standards) is to that extent better than that of their adversaries.

In coming to grips with the critical problem as to how episcopacy began, the scholars of this age received no definite help from the liturgy of their Church. The Preface to the Ordinal makes this familiar declaration:

"It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

The phrase "from the Apostles' time" is slightly ambiguous in meaning, and leaves it open to question whether these Orders are directly traceable to Christ himself or began some time in the Apostolic Age. A like variation in judgment appears in the conclusions of our theologians. The normal or standard verdict, however, is that Christ appointed the Apostles, intending that certain of their functions should be transmitted in his Church; that these Apostles appointed their successors; and that these successors from that day to this have been the bishops of the Church.

Hooker gives to the statement in the Ordinal its most extensive meaning, referring for proof to tradition rather than Scripture—

"The ancientest . . . of the Fathers mention those three degrees of ecclesiastical order specified, and no more. . . . I may securely therefore conclude that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical order, namely, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, which had their beginning from Christ and his blessed Apostles themselves."¹⁸

Again he testifies,

"the Church of Christ is at this day lawfully, and so hath been sithence the first beginning, governed by bishops having permanent superiority and ruling power over other ministers of the word and sacraments. . . . The first bishops in the Church of Christ were his blessed Apostles."¹⁹

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, LXXVIII, 12.

¹⁹*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, III, 1 and IV, 1.

Therefore it may be argued,

"Bishops we say there have been always, even as long as the Church itself hath been. The Apostles who planted it did themselves rule as bishops over it."²⁰

In similar terms Laud declares his faith:

"The calling of bishops is *jure divino*, by divine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling. . . . From the Apostles' times in all ages in all places the Church of Christ was governed by bishops. . . . That Christ himself did ordain the Apostles over the ordinary disciples, presbyters or others, is evident also in the very text. . . . It is *traditio universalis*, the constant and universal tradition of the whole Church of Christ."²¹

Sanderson is more scrupulous in his use of the term *jure divino*. He reminds his readers that *jus divinum* may mean an express command of God in Scripture that the thing so commanded must be perfectly observed (e. g. the sacraments). It may also mean "such things as having no express command in the Word, yet are found to have authority and warrant from the institution, example, and approbation either of Christ himself or his Apostles," and have been similarly approved in all ages of the Church.²² And he subsequently discloses that he is prepared to defend episcopacy as being *jure divino* in the first and stricter sense.²³

It is evident, however, that others, including Bramhall and Chillingworth, would interpret *jus divinum* in the second and looser sense. The former states his conviction in these words:

"We believe episcopacy to be at least an apostolical institution, approved by Christ himself in the Revelation, ordained in the infancy of Christianity as a remedy against schism; and we bless God that we have a clear succession of it."²⁴

And slightly more cautious is another of his statements:

"They that shall go about to shake in pieces such an ancient institution [as episcopacy], which was brought into the Church either by the authority, or at least by the approbation of the Apostles, had need to bring clear proofs."²⁵

²⁰*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, XIII, 3.

²¹*Speech at Censure of Bastwick and Answer to the Lord Say's Speech*, Works, VI, Pt. I, 43, 172f.

²²*Episcopacy Not Prejudicial to Regal Power*, Works, V, 151f.

²³*Ibid.*, 191f.

²⁴*Just Vindication of the Church of England*, Works, I, 271.

²⁵*Serpent-Salve*, Works, III, 467. [*Italics mine.*]

A similarly restricted claim is that offered by Chillingworth:

"Episcopal government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church presently after the Apostles' times. Between the Apostles' times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration [as Puritans assert]. And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended. And therefore episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be granted also to be apostolic."²⁶

Since the exact course of development from which the monarchical episcopate emerged is still a matter of dispute among the learned, it is not surprising that in these earlier days of Anglicanism there should be some diversity of views on the subject. For lack of much scientific evidence now available, there was a good deal of guessing in the dark, supporting itself by reference to patristic authority. Yet in general outline those who wrote on this topic were more or less in agreement not only with each other but now and again with modern scholars.

Hooker, as is so often the case, is perhaps the writer who is most worth listening to, partly because, more than others, he had a sense of historical development. He concedes that during the lifetime of the Apostles there were in the local churches groups of elders or presbyters equal in authority but subject to one of the Apostles. Because of the frequent absence of the Apostles and the rise of various heresies and contentions, a change gradually took place by which some one presbyter was endowed with authority over the others;²⁷ and

"this one president or governor amongst the rest had his known authority established a long time before that settled difference of name and title took place, whereby such alone were named bishops."

Whether the appointment of these original bishops was made by the Apostles or only approved by them, it had either divine appointment beforehand or divine approbation afterwards, and is in that respect to be acknowledged the ordinance of God. Moreover, this system was not peculiar to a few churches, but became so clearly universal throughout the whole Christian world that no church was accounted a church which was not subject to a bishop; and he quotes Cyprian's assertion, "*Ecclesia est in episcopo*."²⁸

²⁶*Religion of Protestants, Works*, 509.

²⁷By the time Hooker was writing Book VII, he no longer thought it a plausible hypothesis that the monarchical episcopate arose after the death of the Apostles. (*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, XI, 8).

²⁸*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, V, 1, 2.

Whatever the details of evolution may have been, the main point stressed by Hooker is that the bishops were successors of the Apostles in exercising those powers and functions which called for permanence; and they were everywhere so regarded.

"The Apostles therefore were the first which had such authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly sort are their lawful successors. . . . 'All bishops are,' saith Jerome, 'the Apostles' successors.'"²⁹

In this simplified form the claim is echoed again and again. According to Andrewes,

" . . . The Apostles ordained overseers to have a general care over the churches instead of themselves who first had the same . . . upon these [bishops] was transferred the chief part of the apostolic function, the oversight of the Church . . . So that the very same power . . . remaineth in the Church, and shall to the world's end."³⁰

"All the primitive Church all along," Laud writes, "gives bishops to be the Apostles' successors."³¹ Hall devoted to the subject a whole book, *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, in the course of which he says,

"the form which the Apostles set and ordained for the governing of the Church was not intended by them for that present time or place only, but for continuance and succession forever. . . . Since . . . this work of erecting episcopacy passed both under the eyes and hands of those sacred ambassadors of Christ who lived to see their episcopal successors planted in the several regions of the world, what reason can any man pretend that this institution should be any other than apostolical?"³²

If we may add two more typical witnesses, Thorndike and Taylor will serve. From the former we learn that "as the Apostles began to wear out—or otherwise as their occasions gave them not leave to attend in person upon the churches of their care—reason required . . . there should be instituted some heads of these companies of presbyters, to whom the name of bishops hath been appropriated ever since; and certain it is that during the time of the Apostles instituted they were."³³ Taylor likewise asserts that

"bishops are the ordinary successors of the Apostles . . . and therefore . . . episcopacy is as truly of divine institution as the

²⁹*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, IV, 3.

³⁰*Summary View of the Government both of Old and New Testaments, Works*, VIII, 355f.

³¹*History of the Troubles and Trials of Laud, Works*, IV, 312.

³²*Episcopacy by Divine Right, Works*, IX, 163, 210.

³³*Of the Government of Churches, Works*, I, Pt. I, 12.

apostolate. . . . Those which do succeed the Apostles in the ordinary office of Apostolate have the same institution and authority the Apostles had."³⁴

And he then goes on to cite twenty-one instances where Apostles appointed bishops, for none of which is there genuine scriptural authority.³⁵

The Powers and Jurisdiction of Bishops

In the series of controversies during which Anglican convictions about episcopacy were clarified and expressed, an important feature was the question of the *powers* of bishops. The Puritans sometimes had little or no objection to the *name* of "bishop," and might have been satisfied with a Church in which a bishop was only a kind of presiding elder, *primus inter pares*. What they objected to with unremitting violence was the acceptance of the episcopate as a separate *order*, giving to its members ecclesiastical jurisdiction and spiritual powers superior to those possessed by presbyters.

With the exception of Richard Field, who denies that the episcopate is a separate order,³⁶ the theologians of the Church are practically unanimous in naming and justifying the spiritual powers which belong to bishops alone. These are the power to consecrate bishops, to ordain priests and deacons, and to confirm the baptized.³⁷

Even more offensive to the Puritan reformers than the spiritual privileges assigned to bishops was their power of jurisdiction, their authority as governors over presbyters and laity. But the Anglican defenders of episcopacy yielded no jot of these claims, and were prepared to defend their legitimacy by appeal to Scripture and tradition.

Hooker maintains that a bishop has

"a power of chieftly in government over presbyters as well as laymen, a power to be by way of jurisdiction a pastor even to pastors themselves."³⁸ "This strange and absurd conceit of equality amongst pastors (the mother of schism and confusion)

³⁴*Episcopacy Asserted, Works*, V, 40, 43.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 50-66.

³⁶See his work, *Of the Church*, I, 321f. and III, 210f., 216, and IV, 151. His unorthodox views on this subject are surprising in one who was a learned Dean of Gloucester admired by King James.

³⁷Hooker qualifies the case of Confirmation with this statement:

"I make not Confirmation any part of that power which hath always belonged only unto bishops; because in some places the custom was that presbyters might also confirm in the absence of a bishop; albeit for the most part none but only bishops were thereof the allowed ministers." (*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, VI, 4.)

³⁸*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, II, 3.

is but a dream newly brought forth, and seen never in the Church before."³⁹

And he calls to witness Ignatius, Cyprian, Jerome and other early Fathers that a bishop had the power not only to ordain but to *rule*, and that his preeminence as governor over the clergy can be clearly established,⁴⁰ an authority eventually confined to his diocese.⁴¹ Hall is no less positive in asserting that

"the power of jurisdiction [was] appropriated to the bishops from the first. . . . The government by bishops [is] both universal and unalterable."⁴² "The superiority of jurisdiction is so in the bishop as that presbyters neither did nor may exercise it without him; and . . . the exercise of external jurisdiction is derived from, by, under him, to those which execute it within his diocese."⁴³

To "the bishops' power of ordaining," Cosin bids us "add their power of setting church matters in order by virtue of St. Paul's *ordinabo cetera*; their votes in council by virtue of that in the Acts; their power to correct, deprive, suspend, excommunicate, and stop the mouths of offenders. . . ."⁴⁴ Long before, as bishop, he found serious trouble in exercising his authority, Jeremy Taylor affirms, on the basis of much patristic evidence, that

"the bishop is superior in a peerless and incomparable authority; and all the whole diocese are his subjects. . . . The faith and practice of Christendom requires obedience, universal obedience, to be given to bishops. . . . The more primitive the testimonies are, the greater exaction of obedience to bishops. . . . The presbyters and clergy and laity must obey; therefore the bishop must govern and give them laws. . . . There was inherent in them [the bishops] a power of cognition of causes and coercion of persons."⁴⁵

In their opposition to episcopacy, the Puritan reformers never conceded the claims to power and jurisdiction so confidently set forth by Anglican leaders on behalf of the bishops of the primitive Church. But they often made the point that even if all that was asserted was true, the Anglican bishops of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of a very different sort from the bishops of the second and third

³⁹*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, XI, 5.

⁴⁰*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, VI, 8-10.

⁴¹*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, VIII, 2, 3.

⁴²*Episcopacy by Divine Right, Works*, IX, 235, 251.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 333.

⁴⁴Consecration Sermon, *Works*, I, 100.

⁴⁵*Episcopacy Asserted, Works*, V, 131, 135.

centuries. The accumulation of rights and privileges with which their order had been invested could not, it was urged, be justified by any references to antiquity. To this objection Hooker's response is that in all *essentials* bishops are the same now as in the early Church, for the differences between ancient and modern bishops are purely external and accidental.⁴⁶ And the same retort is made by Joseph Hall—

"If you tell me of the difference betwixt the episcopacy of those first ages of the Church and that of the present times, I do willingly yield it; but withal I must add that it is not in anything essential to the calling, but in matters outward and merely adventitious; the abatement whereof, if it shall be found needful, diminisheth nothing from the substance of that holy institution."⁴⁷

Moreover, as Hooker reminds his adversaries, whatever powers bishops have acquired in the course of time have been bestowed upon them by orderly processes of law; for the Church has authority both to make new laws and to abrogate old laws in order to meet changing situations.⁴⁸

The Powers of Presbyters or Priests

The accepted belief that bishops were the successors of the Apostles who had been appointed by Jesus finds a parallel in the less plausible belief that presbyters were the successors of the Seventy who had been sent forth by Jesus (Luke 10:1-20). This hypothesis, though unhistorical, has the advantage of tracing to Jesus the origin of the presbyterate. Hooker, for example, tells us that Christ himself directly ordained the Seventy as presbyters inferior to the Apostles, but commissioned to preach and to baptize.⁴⁹ Similarly Andrewes records that Jesus "took unto him twelve Apostles. . . . After this, when the harvest grew so great as that the Twelve sufficed not all . . . he took unto him other Seventy. . . . This was then the order while Christ was upon the earth. . . . The Twelve, whose successors were bishops; the Seventy whose successors were priests."⁵⁰ In Cosin,⁵¹ too, the same thought appears, though Taylor questions whether the commissioning of the Seventy constituted them at that time a distinct order.⁵²

Whether this hypothesis is adopted or the alternative explanation

⁴⁶*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, II, 1.

⁴⁷*A Modest Offer*, *Works*, IX, 447.

⁴⁸*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VII, XIV, 3.

⁴⁹*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, LXXVIII, 4.

⁵⁰*Summary View of the Government both of Old and New Testament*, *Works*, VIII, 351f.

⁵¹*Consecration Sermon*, *Works*, I, 99.

⁵²*Episcopacy Asserted*, *Works*, V, 33, 38.

that the Apostles ordained the first presbyters, in any event the important point is considered to be made and proved that the presbyters were of an order inferior to that of the Apostles, and hence to that of bishops. If the Seventy were the first priests, the commission assigned to them by Christ obviously endowed them with authority less ample than that assigned to the Apostles. If, on the other hand, the Apostles created the first priests, the latter are even more plainly subordinate, and their authority is derivative. Andrewes sums up the case in these words:

"... The government of Christian people consisted in two degrees only—of both which our Saviour Christ himself was the author: (1) of the Twelve, (2) of the Seventy. . . . These two were, one superior to another, and not equal. And that the Apostles established an equality in the clergy, is, I take it, an imagination. . . . Of these two orders, the Apostles have ever been reckoned the superior to the other, till our times.
...⁵³

This point, so vital in controversy with the Puritans, is stressed by every Anglican writer on the subject, of whom Hooker and Taylor are only two familiar examples. It is the former who writes that the authority of the presbyter to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments is derived from the bishops.⁵⁴ From the latter we hear that

"not by divine ordination or immediate commission from Christ, but by derivation from the Apostles and therefore in minority and subordination to them, the presbyters did exercise acts of order and jurisdiction."⁵⁵ And again, "The whole power of ministration both of the word and sacraments was in the bishop by prime authority, and in the presbyters by commission and delegation."⁵⁶

In defining the powers of presbyters, Anglican divines are of course agreed in naming the power to consecrate the elements in the Eucharist. What is involved in that consecration we shall consider in the next chapter; but we may note here that the refusal to accept the Roman dogma of the sacrifice of the Mass is reflected in the preference expressed by more than one writer for the term *presbyter* rather than the term *priest*. "The word *presbyter*," Hooker asserts, "doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . The Holy Ghost through-

⁵³*Sermon on the Second Commandment, Works, V, 63.*

⁵⁴*Ecc. Pol., Bk. VII, VI, 3.*

⁵⁵*Episcopacy Asserted, Works, V, 38.*

⁵⁶*Ibid., 152.*

out the body of the New Testament making so much mention of them doth not anywhere call them priests."⁵⁷ Whitgift, too, objects to the word "priest" if it means a sacrificer. "As heretofore use hath made it to be taken for a sacrificer, so will use now alter that signification, and make it to be taken for a minister of the Gospel."⁵⁸ But elsewhere he informs the Puritans that "the name of priest need not be so odious unto you as you would seem to make it. I suppose it cometh of this word *presbyter*, not of *sacerdos*; and then the matter is not great."⁵⁹

The factor in priestly power to which most attention is given in the works of the earlier Anglican theologians is the power of absolution. The orthodox Anglican position on the subject of auricular confession we have already illustrated in dealing with the errors of Rome. It is stated by Hooker in Book VI of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, where he declares that the Church of England publicly teaches the minister's power to absolve but does not insist that the remission of sins is impossible without sacramental confession.⁶⁰ The precise nature and effect of this priestly absolution is described in slightly varying terms by the writers we are following. According to Hooker, only God can remit sin and wipe out its stain by the sanctifying grace of his Spirit, and only God has the power to remove punishment.

"As for the ministerial sentence of private absolution, it can be no more than a *declaration* of what God hath done."⁶¹ In other words, "God alone doth truly give, the virtue of repentance alone procure, and private ministerial absolution but *declare* remission of sins."⁶²

In similar terms Andrewes expresses his conviction that "the power of remitting sin is originally in God and in God alone," but he believes that this power was delegated to the Apostles and by them has been transmitted through bishops to priests, "yet not so that absolutely without them God cannot bestow it on whom or when him pleaseth."⁶³ The same distinction is clearly expressed by Bramhall in these condensed terms:

"God remits [sins] sovereignly, imperially, primitively, abso-

⁵⁷*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXXVIII, 3.

⁵⁸*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works*, III, 351.

⁵⁹*Answer to the Admonition, Works*, III, 350.

⁶⁰*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. VI, IV, 15.

⁶¹*Op. cit.*, Bk. VI, VI, 8. [*Italics mine.*]

⁶²*Ibid.*, 13. [*Italics mine.*]

⁶³*Sermon on the Power of Absolution, Works*, V, 90, 92.

lutely; the priest's power is derivative, delegate, dependent, ministerial, conditional."⁶⁴

With greater fulness and frequency than elsewhere, the subject of absolution is treated by Jeremy Taylor, for in his capacity as pastor and father confessor he was keenly interested in every aspect of moral theology. But since he dealt with this theme at various times in the course of many years, his conclusions are not always strictly consistent. He maintains that

"confession . . . is due only to God; for he is the person injured, sin is the prevarication of his laws, he is our judge, and he only can pardon. . . . Confession to a priest is not virtually included in the duty of contrition; for it not being necessary by the nature of the thing, nor the divine commandment, is not necessary absolutely and properly in order to pardon."⁶⁵

Since the penitent sinner "is pardoned beforehand," the absolution of the priest "is only declarative. God pardons the man, and the priest by his office is to tell him so, when he sees cause for it, and observes the conditions completed. . . . The priestly absolution is only a solemn and legal publication of God's pardon already actually past in the court of heaven."⁶⁶ The same point he phrases differently in a later paragraph:

"Either the sinner hath repented worthily or he hath not. If he hath, then God hath pardoned him already, by virtue of all the promises evangelical. If he hath not repented worthily, the priest cannot, ought not to absolve him; and therefore can by this absolution effect no new thing."⁶⁷

But because the priest has the power to admit Christians to the Holy Communion or to deny them that sacrament, his absolution is really more than a declaration.

"In the primitive Church," Taylor informs us, "there was no such thing as a *judicial* absolution of sin used in any liturgy or church, so far as can appear; but all the absolution of penitents which is recorded was the mere admitting them to the mysteries and society of the faithful in religious offices, the sum and perfection of which was the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper."⁶⁸

These are his grounds for asserting that

⁶⁴*Protestants' Ordination Defended, Works, V, 213f.*

⁶⁵*Unum Necessarium, Works, VII, 440, 445.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 445.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 459.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 453. [*Italics mine.*]

"the priest's proper power of absolving, that is, of pardoning . . . is a giving the penitent the means of eternal pardon, the admitting him to the sacraments of the Church and the peace and communion of the faithful." Thus "the priest . . . gives pardon, not as a king does it; nor yet as a messenger; that is, not by way of authority and real donation, nor yet only by declaration; but as a physician gives health; that is, he gives the remedy which God appoints [i. e. the Eucharist]; and if he does so, and if God blesses the medicines, the person recovers, and God gives the health."⁶⁹

The Diaconate

If continual controversy demanded that volumes should be devoted to episcopacy and chapters to the priesthood, paragraphs were enough to deal with the history and status of the diaconate. For that topic involved no dangerous issues, and deacons were not important enough to attract much attention. It is taken for granted by those who treat of the subject that the Seven whose appointment is recorded in the sixth chapter of the Acts were the first deacons, although that title is not there assigned to them; and it is therefore agreed that this third order of the ministry is of apostolic origin. The first duty of deacons, it is evident, was to collect and distribute goods for the poor; but there is plenty of testimony, we are assured, that in course of time they were authorized to assist the presbyters in divine service, to administer the bread and wine in the Holy Communion, to preach the Gospel, and to baptize.⁷⁰

Episcopacy—Of the "Esse" or the "Bene Esse" of the Church?

In defending episcopacy as the best form of Church government and as the only type of polity recognized by law in England, Anglican leaders from the Reformation to the Restoration were of course at one. In refusing to admit that any other polity is prescribed in Scripture, they were likewise agreed. But there is diversity of opinion as to whether episcopacy is forever necessary to the existence of the Church. To the critical question, "Is it true that where there is no bishop there is no Church?," different answers were given.

One of the earliest and clearest replies comes from Whitgift, who maintains that episcopacy is not permanently essential to the being of a Church. In the following passage he expounds his reasons:

⁶⁹*Unum Necessarium*, Works, VII, 452.

⁷⁰See, for example, Whitgift, *Answer to the Admonition*, Works, III, 61f., 64; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXXVIII, 5; Field, *Of the Church*, III, 197f.

"That any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the Church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny; and the reasons that move me so to do be these: The first is, because I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ; which no doubt should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church. Secondly, because the essential notes of the Church be these only: the true preaching of the word of God and the right administrations of the Sacraments. . . . So that notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet is it not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government . . . and therefore the 'kind of government' of the Church is not 'necessary unto salvation.'"⁷¹

With this position Hooker is in fundamental agreement. He distinguishes sharply between articles of *doctrine* necessary to salvation, which are not changeable, and laws regarding *order*, which the Church has power to alter.⁷² He condemns the reformers for putting laws for the government of the Church on a level with the primary truths of the Gospel.⁷³ He argues, by way of analogy, that though speech is necessary among all men throughout the world, it does not inevitably follow that all men must speak the same language.

"Even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all."⁷⁴ "I therefore conclude, that neither God's being author of laws for government of his Church, nor his committing of them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all Churches should forever be bound to keep them without change."⁷⁵

Yet we cannot safely assume that Hooker included episcopacy under "polity and regiment" which might be subject to change, for a few pages later he tells us that a ministry of at least two orders (one subordinate to the other) is one of the *essentials* of Church polity.⁷⁶

The decisive passage in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, however, is contained in Book VII, where the author gives his fullest answer to the question, "Can a Church exist without bishops?" His response is typical in its blend of honesty and caution:

⁷¹*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Works*, I, 184f.

⁷²*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, VIII, 2 and Bk. III, III, 2.

⁷³*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, X, 6.

⁷⁴*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, II, 1.

⁷⁵*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, X, 7.

⁷⁶*Op. cit.*, Bk. III, XI, 20.

"Whereas . . . some do infer that no ordination can stand but only such as is made by bishops which have had their ordination likewise by other bishops before them, till we come to the very Apostles of Christ themselves . . . to this we answer that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain; howbeit as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways."

One possible exception would be the case of a man directly appointed by God himself, whose divine calling would be proved by obvious signs and tokens from heaven. Another exception would be a case where it was necessary for the Church to have presbyters, but impossible to find a bishop.

"In case of such necessity the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination. These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops."¹⁷

Certainly Hooker's testimony is that the episcopate is not under all circumstances indispensable to the existence of a true Church, and therefore belief in episcopacy is not on a par with belief in such doctrines as the Incarnation. Yet the right of episcopacy to prevail as the one form of Church polity is limited by hypothetical circumstances of such rare occurrence that for all *practical* purposes it appears as essential.

Richard Field, at a slightly later date, finds no difficulty, of course, in admitting that on rare occasions bishops may be dispensed with, for he is the only thinker of high standing in this period who contends that the episcopate does not constitute a separate order. The exceptional circumstances which he cites as justifying ordination by presbyters is the prevalence of unchecked heresy among bishops:

"When the bishops of a whole Church or country fall from the faith, or consent to them that so do, the care of the Church is devolved to the presbyters remaining catholic; and as in the case of necessity that may do all other things regularly reserved to bishops only . . . so in case of general defect of the bishops

¹⁷*Op. cit.*, Bk. VII, XIV, 11.

of a whole country refusing to ordain any but such as shall consent to their heresies, when there appeareth no hope of remedy or help from other parts of the Church, the presbyters may choose out one among themselves to be chief, and so add other to their numbers by the imposition of his and their hands."⁷⁸

Here, too, as in the case of Hooker, we note a theoretically possible exception so unlikely to occur as to have no *practical* bearing on Church government.

As has been often observed, Elizabethan bishops and scholars tended to think of bishops in a more practical and less theological fashion than some of their Jacobean and Caroline successors. The next century, in fact, saw a drift on the part of High Churchmen toward a more exalted view of episcopacy, emphasizing its divine right and echoing Cyprian's conviction that it is necessary to the very existence of the Church. Among these later divines we may look to Thorndike and Taylor as familiar examples. The former has no hesitation in saying that "the visible unity of the Church must stand or fall with episcopacy."⁷⁹

"What authority upon earth," he asks, "can introduce any form [of Church government] unreconcilable with that which the Apostles first introduced to procure the unity of the Church. . . ? I must needs conclude those that do these things . . . to be causes of the schism, that is, schismatics."⁸⁰

Exactly the same ideas Taylor expresses both near the beginning and near the end of his career. Quoting Cyprian with approval as asserting, "If ye take away bishops, the Church . . . can no longer be called a Church," he declares that

"antiquity taught us [episcopacy] was simply necessary, even to the being and constitution of a Church. . . . If the unity of the Church depends upon the bishop, then where there is no bishop, no pretence to a Church; and therefore to separate from the bishop makes a man at least a schismatic. . . . The bishop is the band and ligature of the Church's unity. . . . In no case is it lawful to separate from episcopacy."⁸¹

And in a consecration sermon preached some twenty years later, when

⁷⁸*Of the Church*, IV, 151.

⁷⁹*Just Weights and Measures*, *Works*, V, 116.

⁸⁰*Of the Laws of the Church*, *Works*, IV, Pt. I, 369.

⁸¹*Episcopacy Asserted*, *Works*, V, 192-195.

he himself was a bishop, he states his belief in these uncompromising terms:

"As bishops were the first fathers of Churches and gave them being; so they preserve them in being. For without sacraments there is no Church, or it will be starved and die; and without bishops there can be no priests, and consequently no sacraments; and that must needs be a supreme order from whence ordination itself proceeds."⁸²

But that even on the verge of the Restoration such advanced views were not uniformly accepted is evident enough from the *Irenicum* of Stillingfleet published in 1659. It is true that he was writing this in the last years of the Commonwealth, and that twenty years later he describes the earlier work as "a book written twenty years since with great tenderness towards Dissenters, before the laws were established." Nevertheless, the *Irenicum* was the product of the keen mind of a learned scholar who was then a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. The main aim of his book was to work out some sort of compromise between episcopacy and presbytery, and to that end he undertook to examine the claim of episcopacy to be a *jus divinum*. His initial assertion is that "nothing is founded upon a divine right, nor can bind Christians directly or consequently as a positive law, but what may be certainly known to have come from God, with an intention to oblige believers to the world's end."⁸³ But no such law of eternal validity is to be found in the New Testament:

"Though it be proved that the Apostles had superiority of order and jurisdiction over the pastors of the Church by an act of Christ, yet it must further be proved that it was Christ's intention that superiority should continue in their successors, or it makes nothing to the purpose."⁸⁴ Yet, "whether any shall succeed the Apostles in superiority of power over presbyters, or all remain governing the Church in an equality of power, is nowhere determined by the will of Christ in Scripture."⁸⁵

"So much shall serve," he continues, "... to show how improbable it is that Christ did ever prescribe any one form of government in his Church, since he hath only laid down general rules for the management of Church government."⁸⁶ Nor "can we have that certainty of apostolical practice which is necessary to constitute a divine right, nor

⁸²*Consecration Sermon, Works*, VIII, 320.

⁸³*Irenicum* (edition of 1662), 14.

⁸⁴*Op. cit.*, 25.

⁸⁵*Op. cit.*, 177.

⁸⁶*Op. cit.*, 189.

secondly, is it probable that the Apostles did tie themselves up to any one fixed course in modelling churches; nor thirdly, if they did, doth it necessarily follow that we must observe the same."⁸⁷ In short,

"if by *jure divino* you understand a law and commandment of God, binding all Christian Churches universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity that no other form of regiment may in any case be admitted, in this sense neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it [episcopacy] to be *jure divino*."⁸⁸

Whether a Church could properly be called a Church if it had no bishops, and whether sacraments were valid when performed by ministers not episcopally ordained, were questions of more than academic interest, for such ministers were to be found in small numbers in England and in large numbers within the Churches of Continental Protestantism. In view of this practical situation, what was the normal Anglican view of the orders and sacraments of other reformed bodies?

The extreme Puritans and the Dissenters in England were regarded as ecclesiastical rebels who needed to be disciplined, because within the realm religious uniformity was almost universally believed to be not only desirable but necessary.

"Dissenters might be right or wrong, but they were certainly revolters from the national system of religion, and as such they merited the punishment meted out to them by the laws of England."⁸⁹

In quite a different class, on the other hand, were the independent Protestant Churches outside of England, because they were obviously not subject to these laws of England. Hence there was "no inconsistency on the part of English Churchmen that they acknowledged abroad what they suppressed at home."⁹⁰ Towards these Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches the standard attitude of the Church of England in the first century of Anglicanism, as in the centuries that have followed, was a refusal to let devotion to episcopacy involve explicit rejection of the validity of non-episcopal orders and sacraments or the uncharching of other Churches. From this norm, however, there have here and there been variations. For our purposes it will be sufficient to offer evidence from five Caroline divines, at least four of whom are of Anglo-Catholic coloring.

⁸⁷*Op. cit.*, 287.

⁸⁸*Op. cit.*, 412.

⁸⁹ H. H. Henson, *Anglicanism*, 173.

⁹⁰*Op. cit.*, 173.

Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, referring to "those reformed Churches which want that government [of bishops]," writes these generous words:

"We love and honor those sister Churches as the dear spouse of Christ. We bless God for them; and we do heartily wish unto them that happiness in the partnership of our administration which I doubt not but they do no less heartily wish unto themselves [i. e. they would like to have bishops if they could] . . . First, our position is only affirmative, implying the justifiableness and holiness of an episcopal calling, without any further implication. Next, when we speak of divine right we mean not an express law of God requiring it [episcopacy] upon the absolute necessity of the being of a Church, what hindrances soever may interpose, but a divine institution, warranting it where it is and requiring it where it may be had. Every Church, therefore, which is capable of this form of government both may and ought to affect it, as that which is with so much authority derived from the Apostles to the whole body of the Church upon earth; but those particular Churches to whom this power and faculty is denied lose nothing of the true essence of a Church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection, whereof they are barred by the necessity of their condition. . ."⁹¹

John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, was serving with the king's forces in England when he wrote *The Serpent-Salve*. Though he had personal reasons for thinking ill of the enemies of episcopacy, his judgment of the other reformed Churches is charitable.

"Where we are not sure that there is right ordination, what assurance have we that there is a Church? I write not this to prejudice our neighbor Churches. I dare not limit the extraordinary operation of God's Spirit where ordinary means are wanting, without the default of the persons. He gave his people manna for food whilst they were in the wilderness. Necessity is a strong plea . . . It is charity to think well of our neighbors, and good divinity to look well to ourselves . . . There is great difference between a valid and a regular ordination. . . . God looks upon his people in mercy, with all their prejudices; and . . . there is a great latitude left to particular Churches in the constitution of their ecclesiastical regiment, according to the exigence of time and place and persons, so as order and his own institution be observed."⁹²

And a dozen years later his convictions have not changed:

"Because I esteem them [the Protestant Churches of the Continent] not *completely* formed, do I therefore exclude them

⁹¹*Humble Remonstrance, Works, IX, 290f.*

⁹²*Serpent-Salve, Works, III, 475f.*

from all hope of salvation or esteem them aliens and strangers from the commonwealth of Israel or account them formal schismatics? No such thing."⁹³

John Cosin, a Laudian High Churchman detested by the Puritans, spent seventeen years as an exile in France. In the course of that time, he was in frequent touch with French Protestants, and on the subject of their non-episcopal orders he expressed himself in these terms:

"Though we may safely say, and maintain it, that their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be, by those prelates and bishops of the Church who since the Apostles' times have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest, yet that by reason of this defect there is a *total nullity* in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests or ministers among them, for my part I would be loath to affirm and determine against them . . . The act which they do, though it be *disorderly* done, and the ordinations which they make, though they make them *unlawfully*, shall not be altogether null and invalid. . . . I love not to be herein more wise, or harder, than our own Church is; which because it hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordinations of the other reformed Churches to be void. . . . I dare not take upon me to condemn, or determine a nullity of their own ordinations against them."

Having made this familiar distinction between irregular and invalid, Cosin goes on to blame these Churches for their "great presumption," and to state that they will deserve severe censure at the hands of any future General Council.⁹⁴

Herbert Thorndike explicitly denies the validity of the orders and sacraments of the Presbyterians and Independents of England, even counting their administration of baptism to be void of effect. Yet in spite of these extreme opinions, he distinguishes clearly between Dissenters at home and the Protestants of Europe.

"It is said that hereby [i. e. by denying validity to the orders of Dissenters] we shall make void the ordinations of the reformed Churches of France and others reformed according to Calvin, and so make them no Churches . . . But . . . who hath the conscience to think, or the face to say, that if ordinations made by presbyters against their bishops be void, then ordinations made by presbyters where they could not be had by

⁹³*Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works, II, 69f.*

⁹⁴*Letter to M. Cordel, Works, IV, 401ff.*

bishops are void? For that is the difference of the cases. . . .⁹⁵ I must not take upon me either to justify or to condemn their ordinations, averring on one side that they are not according to rule [i. e. irregular], seeing on the other side that they are owned by my superiors; yet I must acknowledge that there are very great reasons to hope and to presume that God accepteth of their ordinations, though not made according to rule, in consideration of the necessity that drove them to it, and of the reformation which they were used to propogate."⁹⁶

Of the five witnesses we are quoting, Jeremy Taylor is the only one who denies the validity of the orders and sacraments of the other reformed Churches. The first book he published was *The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy*, commonly known as *Episcopacy Asserted* (1642). In this work, after offering ample evidence of the uniformity of episcopal ordination in times past, he poses the question, "Then are all ordinations invalid which are done by mere presbyters without a bishop? What think we of the reformed Churches?" His answer is that the Church of England has not condemned ordinations by presbyters because Presbyterians were for long regarded as helpful allies against the errors of Rome. "We were willing to make them recompense by endeavoring to justify their ordinations, not thinking what would follow upon ourselves." But, he continues,

"why is not the question rather that we think of the primitive Church than what we think of the reformed Churches? Did the primitive Councils and Fathers do well in condemning the ordinations made by mere presbyters? If they did well, what was a virtue in them is no sin in us; if they did ill, from what principle shall we judge of the right of ordinations? Since there is no example in Scripture of any ordination made but by Apostles and bishops."⁹⁷

Confronted with the familiar plea of "necessity," Taylor retorts, "Necessity may excuse a personal delinquency, but I never heard that necessity did build a Church."⁹⁸

⁹⁵*Of the Forbearance . . . which a Due Reformation Requires, Works*, V, 426.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 430.

The "superiors" to whom Thorndike (a priest) refers are various bishops, such as Cosin, cited above. Cosin himself tells his French correspondent that "if at any time a minister so ordained [i. e. by Presbyterians] in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late and can instance in many other before my time) our bishops did not reordain him before they admitted [him] to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void." (Letter to M. Cordal, *Works*, IV, 403.)

⁹⁷*Episcopacy Asserted, Works*, V, 118.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 119.

"The case is evident that the want of a bishop will not excuse us from our endeavors of acquiring one; and where God means to found a Church, there he will supply them with those means and ministers which himself hath made of ordinary and absolute necessity."⁹⁹

In other words, if you cannot find a bishop, God does not intend you to have a Church—otherwise he would have provided one. Thus one of Hooker's exceptional cases is not accepted as such by Taylor. As to individual Presbyterians, however, Taylor makes this concession:

"Though I cannot justify their ordinations, yet what degree their necessity is of, what their desire of episcopal ordinations may do for their personal excuse, and how far a good life and a catholic belief may lead a man in the way to heaven, although the forms of external communion be not observed, I cannot determine."¹⁰⁰

Five years later, when the Church of England was in serious trouble, Taylor wrote in *The Liberty of Prophesying*,

"Can any man say and justify that the Apostles did deny communion to any man that believed the Apostles' Creed and lived a good life?"¹⁰¹ "To make the way to heaven straiter than God made it, or to deny to communicate with those with whom God will vouchsafe to be united, and to refuse our charity to those who have the same faith, because they have not all our opinions and believe not everything necessary which we overvalue, is impious and schismatical; it infers tyranny on one part, and persuades and tempts to uncharitableness and animosities on both. . . . He who upon confidence of his true belief, denies a charitable communion to his brother, loses the reward of both."¹⁰²

If in these convictions there is anything inconsistent with Taylor's beliefs about episcopacy, he shows no sign that he is conscious of it.¹⁰³

⁹⁹*Episcopacy Asserted, Works*, V, 120. "The reformed Churches," Taylor adds, "might have had order from the bishops of England or the Lutheran Churches"—an indication that he considered Lutheran episcopal orders to be valid. (*Ibid.*, 121.)

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁰¹*Liberty of Prophesying, Works*, V, 408.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 601f.

¹⁰³The fullest account of Anglican thought on the subject of episcopacy is to be found in *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, by A. J. Mason. Pages 1-232 cover the period we have been studying.

Chapter IV

The Eucharist



IF EARLY Anglican thought on the Eucharist, no better brief summary is to be found than that by Paul Elmer More in his essay on "The Spirit of Anglicanism."

"The Anglicans," he writes, "widely admitted the 'real presence,' not corporal but spiritual, of the body and blood of Christ is in the Eucharist. In so far, they tended away from Reformation Eucharistic theology towards the Objectivism of Rome. But in a different respect, namely in their emphasis on the need for the cooperation of faith in the communicant, they leaned towards the Protestant position. In regard to the spiritual fact behind the Eucharistic rite they were thus in the line of the *via media* between the extremes, to speak locally, of Rome and Zürich. . . . In so far as the Anglicans theorized at all about the *how* of the Sacrament, the prevalent view would seem to have followed Calvin and one side of St. Augustine in using the language of dynamic or instrumental symbolism. . . . But they were not entirely coherent or, one gathers, very deeply concerned in such explanations. . . . And in general such theories, when they occur, have the air of half-hearted attempts to find a substitute for the Tridentine dogma of transubstantiation, which is denounced quite whole-heartedly as bad theology and bad philosophy. . . . Oftener and more characteristically the Anglican theologians refused *on principle* to theorize at all on the how of sacramental efficacy."¹

The Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, reaffirmed at the Council of Trent, is so widely familiar as to require no exposition. More in need of illustration are the Protestant doctrines which had been offered as alternatives before the Elizabethan Settlement; for members of the Anglican Communion often forget that doctrines of the Eucharist at the time of the Reformation were widely different from each other. The belief of Zwingli and his followers, representing the extreme opposite to transubstantiation, was that the Lord's Supper was a mere memorial and that the bread and wine were simply signs representing the body and blood of Christ. The Lutheran Augs-

¹More & Cross, edd., *Anglicanism*, xxxvi.

burg Confession (1530), on the contrary, asserts that "the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper." Calvin, too, taught a doctrine much more nearly resembling the Anglican than the Zwinglian. In his *Institutes*, he declares that

"our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporeal life is preserved and sustained by the bread and wine. . . . In receiving the symbol of his body, we at the same time truly receive the body itself . . . For to what end would the Lord deliver into our hands the symbol of his body, except to assure us of a real participation of it."² "It is sufficient for us that Christ inspires life into our souls from the substance of his flesh, and even infuses his own life into us, though his flesh never actually enters into us."

But he confesses, "It is a mystery too sublime for me to be able to express."³

The Eucharist as a Sacrifice

In their treatment of the Eucharist, Anglican theologians are most fully in agreement when they tell us what they do *not* believe. As we have noted in dealing with Roman errors, one of the doctrines they reject is the dogma of the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is condemned not only by Article XXXI, but, by inference, in the Prayer of Consecration as it appears in the Book of Common Prayer authorized in 1559. There the death of Christ "for our redemption" is referred to as "his one oblation of himself once offered," and as "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."

In similar language the Roman interpretation of the Eucharist is repudiated by all subsequent thinkers in this period. Jewel writes,

"Christ is daily sacrificed only in a certain manner of speech, and in a mystery; but really, verily, and indeed he is not sacrificed . . . This sacrifice [of Christ on the cross] is but one; we may look for none other. It is full and perfect; we may look for no better."⁴

At this point at one with his Puritan adversary, Whitgift tells him, "I condemn that office and institution of sacrificing for the quick and the dead with you, and I know it is condemned in the Scriptures mani-

²*Institutes*, Bk. IV, ch. 17, sect. 10.

³*Ibid.*, Section 32.

⁴*Reply unto M. Harding's Answer, Works*, III, 373, 381.

festly, and namely in the IXth and Xth to the Hebrews."⁵ To a Roman opponent, Bramhall makes this reply:

"You say we have renounced your Sacrifice of the Mass. If the Sacrifice of the Mass be the same with the Sacrifice of the Cross, we attribute more unto it than yourselves; we place our whole hope of salvation in it. If you understand another propitiatory sacrifice distinct from that (as this of the Mass seems to be . . .) if you think of any new meritorious satisfaction to God for the sins of the world, or of any new supplement to the merits of Christ's Passion, you must give us leave to renounce your sacrifice indeed . . ."⁶

No less emphatic is Cosin's rejection of such a sacrifice:

"Christ can no more be offered, as the doctors and priests of the Roman party fancy him to be, and vainly think that every time they say Mass they offer up and sacrifice Christ anew, as properly and truly as he offered up himself in his sacrifice upon the cross. And this is one of the points of doctrine, and the chief one whereof the popish Mass consisteth, abrogated and reformed here by the Church of England, according to the express word of God."⁷

Certain of these Anglicans, however, were not content to deny one particular interpretation of the sacrificial element in the Eucharist. Several offer us an explanation of which they can approve. Affirming that the canon of the Mass does not require the interpretation given to it by most Protestants, Richard Field states a doctrine of sacrifice acceptable to Anglicans:

"A man may be said to offer a thing unto God in that he bringeth it to his presence, setteth it before his eyes, and offereth it to his view, to incline him to do something by the sight of it and respect had to it. In this sort Christ offereth himself and his body once crucified, daily in heaven, and so intercedeth for us; not as giving it in the nature of a gift or present, for he gave himself to God once . . . nor in the nature of a sacrifice; for he died once for sin and rose again never to die any more: but in that he setteth it before the eyes of God his Father, representing it unto him, and so offering it to his view, to obtain grace and mercy for us. And in this sort we also offer him daily on the altar, in that, commemorating his death and lively representing his bitter passions endured in his body upon the cross, we offer him that was once crucified and sacrificed for us on the cross, and all his sufferings, to the view and gracious consideration of the Almighty, earnestly desiring

⁵*Answer to the Admonition, Works, III, 352.*

⁶*Answer to M. de la Milletière, Works, I, 54.*

⁷*Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, Works, V, 333.*

and assuredly hoping that he will incline to pity us and show mercy unto us . . ."⁸

And this view Field sums up in a sentence: "Christ is not newly offered any otherwise than in that he is offered to the view of God, nor any otherwise sacrificed than in that his sacrifice on the cross is commemorated and represented."⁹

An interpretation similarly modified is offered by Bramhall in one of his anti-Roman works:

"The Holy Eucharist is a commemoration, a representation, an application, of the all-sufficient propitiatory Sacrifice of the Cross. If his Sacrifice of the Mass have any other propitiatory power or virtue in it than to commemorate, represent, and apply the merit of the Sacrifice of the Cross, let him speak plainly what it is. . . . We acknowledge an Eucharistical Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commemorative Sacrifice or a memorial of the Sacrifice of the Cross; a representative Sacrifice or a representation of the Passion of Christ before the eyes of his heavenly Father; an impetrative Sacrifice, or an impetration of the fruit and benefit of his Passion, by way of real prayer; and lastly, an applicative Sacrifice, or an application of his merits unto our souls."¹⁰

Finally, we may turn to Jeremy Taylor for an almost identical view of the Eucharistic sacrifice:

"As it is a commemoration and representment of Christ's death, so it is a commemorative sacrifice. . . . Whatsoever Christ did at the institution, the same he commanded the Church to do in remembrance and repeated rites; and himself also does the same thing in heaven for us, making perpetual intercession for his Church . . . by representing to his Father his death and sacrifice. There he sits, a high priest continually, and offers still the same one perfect sacrifice; that is, still represents it as having been once finished and consummate, in order to perpetual and never-failing events. And this also his ministers do on earth; they offer up the same sacrifice to God, the sacrifice of the cross, by prayers, and a commemorating rite and representment, according to his holy institution. . . . We celebrate and 'exhibit the Lord's death' in sacrament and symbol; and this is that great express, which when the Church offers to God the Father, it obtains all those blessings which that sacrifice purchased."¹¹

And in another passage Taylor speaks of the share in the sacrifice borne by the worshipping congregation:

⁸*Of the Church*, II, 61f.

⁹*Op. cit.*, II, 72.

¹⁰*Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works*, II, 88, 276.

¹¹*Great Exemplar, Works*, II, 642f.

"The people are sacrificers too in their manner; for besides that by saying 'Amen' they join in the act of him that ministers, and make it also to be their own; so when they eat and drink the consecrated and blessed elements worthily, they receive Christ within them, and therefore may also offer him to God, while in their sacrifice of obedience and thanksgiving they present themselves to God with Christ, whom they have spiritually received, that is, themselves with that which will make them gracious and acceptable."¹²

The Eucharist as Holy Communion

The Eucharist as a sacrifice received from Anglican divines far less attention than the Eucharist as Holy Communion. Partly because transubstantiation bulked so large as a controversial topic, but chiefly because the reception of the elements is a factor in the Sacrament more obviously impressive than its sacrificial features, the questions of central interest were, "What is the relation between the bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ? In what sense do we eat his flesh and drink his blood?" Certainly in *some* sense the bread is the body of Christ and the wine is his blood, for the New Testament records that the Lord said, "This is my body" and "This is my blood." Moreover, relying upon the supreme authority of Scripture, the Book of Common Prayer (1559) in the liturgy of the Holy Communion refers to the bread, in the words of administration, as "the body of our Lord Jesu Christ," and to the wine as "the blood of our Lord Jesu Christ". And in the Prayer of Humble Access the priest offers the petition,

"Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us."

From infallible Scripture, then, and from the prescribed liturgy the thinkers of the Church received these facts as fundamental data. But as to how, or in what sense, bread and wine can be body and blood, neither Scripture nor liturgy offers any explanation. All that can be learned from the Prayer Book is that we partake of this food and drink "spiritually." The second exhortation, for example, refers

¹²*Holy Living, Works*, III, 215.

to "our *spiritual* food and sustenance"; the third exhortation states that "we *spiritually* eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood"; and the prayer after communicating speaks of "the *spiritual* food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." Similarly Article XXVIII declares that

"the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper only after an heavenly and *spiritual* manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith."

Thus the official teaching of the Church of England is that the body and blood of Christ are objectively present in the Sacrament. They are not produced by faith, yet faith is the necessary condition of their reception. Article XXVII rejects the dogma of transubstantiation, but neither the Article nor the Book of Common Prayer suggests any other theory of the manner of Christ's presence.

Reflecting the reticence on this subject manifest not only in the New Testament but also in the Prayer Book and the Articles, the theologians of the Church of England show extreme caution in dealing with the problem. The most characteristic note in their writings is a modest reluctance to inquire into these sacred mysteries. Speculation in regard to such incomprehensible questions is viewed as almost irreverent and as likely to do more harm than good. Hooker exclaims,

"I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the Sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how. . . . Curious and intricate speculations do . . . quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy as divine graces use to raise when extraordinarily they are present. . . . This heavenly food is given for the satisfying of our empty souls and not for the exercising of our curious and subtle wits."¹³

A similar warning is uttered by Bramhall who writes

"We rest in the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' leaving the manner to him that made the Sacrament. . . . This was the belief of the primitive Church; this was the faith of the ancient Fathers, who were never acquainted with these modern questions *de modo*, which edify not, but expose Christian religion to contempt."¹⁴

In almost the same words Cosin writes,

¹³*Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, LXVII, 3, 4.

¹⁴*Answer to M. de la Millaire, Works*, I, 22.

"As to the manner of the presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the blessed Sacrament, we that are Protestant and Reformed according to the ancient Catholic Church do not search into the manner of it with perplexing inquiries; but, after the example of the primitive and purest Church of Christ, we leave it to the power and wisdom of our Lord, yielding a full and unfeigned assent to his words."¹⁵

Jeremy Taylor, too, as might be expected from one so unspeculative as he, asserts of the *manner* of the Eucharist,

"There is no need at all to dispute it, no advantages by it, and therefore it were better it were left at liberty to every man to think as he please; for so it was in the Church for above a thousand years together; and yet it were better men would not at all trouble themselves concerning it; for it is a thing impossible to be understood, and therefore it is not fit to be inquired after."¹⁶

This prevalent tendency to shrink from Eucharistic speculation is praiseworthy so far as it is meant to discourage bitter contention and to remind the curious that there are limits to the power of the human intellect. Nevertheless, it is a rather remarkable phenomenon to find such an inhibition in the lives of leaders of a Church which valued highly the Athanasian Creed, a document which describes with meticulous accuracy the inner nature of the Godhead and condemns to eternal punishment all who disagree with its dogmatic details. Indeed, the question naturally suggests itself why the "how" of the Holy Communion is any more mysterious forbidden ground than the inner nature of the Godhead.

As a matter of fact, it ought to be recognized that it is the business of a theologian to *reason* about religious truths and religious experiences, and not simply to throw up his hands and utter pious ejaculations. Nothing is to be gained, therefore, by making a virtue out of refusing to reason about the Eucharist. The Anglican habit of insisting on a reverent silence about all questions of "how" simply betrays the unspeculative character of the Anglican mind, and helps to account for the fact that Anglicanism has produced very few theologians of eminent stature. Transubstantiation, however deserving of rejection by the modern mind, was at least a brilliantly intelligent effort to reason about the Sacrament in terms of the reigning medieval philosophy.¹⁷

¹⁵*History of Popish Transubstantiation*, (Not published until 1675, but written in 1656), *Works*, IV, 156.

¹⁶*The Real Presence*, *Works*, VI, 12.

¹⁷Joseph Hall is one of the few leaders who disapproved of this theological

Anglican Contributions to Eucharistic Theology

In spite of their professed caution, however, these representatives of Anglicanism were able and willing to make to Eucharistic theology contributions of genuine if limited value. Among those who have most to offer are Jewel, Hooker, and Taylor. Since they represent different periods, we shall profit by summarizing their views, citing others occasionally in partial support.

Not a few of those who enter this field of thought are painfully conscious that the Lord's Supper has become a center of fierce controversy.

"It is a lamentable thing," says Ussher, "to behold how this holy Sacrament, which was ordained by Christ to be a bond whereby we should be knit together in unity, is, by Satan's malice and the corruption of man's disposition, so strangely perverted the contrary way that it is made the principal occasion of that woeful distraction which we see amongst Christians at this day, and the very fuel of endless strifes and implacable contentions."¹⁸

Aware of this painful truth, Bramhall urges that "the Holy Eucharist which is the Sacrament of peace and unity, ought not to be made the matter of strife and contention."¹⁹ And Jeremy Taylor sets the tone for his own treatment of the theme by this counsel:

"He that desires to enter furthest into the secrets of this mystery and to understand more than others, can better learn by love than by inquiry."²⁰

For Jewel, as for most of his successors, the central thesis of his thought about the elements of the Eucharist is that we partake of Christ's body and blood, but that we receive them "spiritually" and "with the mouth of our faith." The bread and wine are not mere "naked signs or tokens," but rather "figures" representing to our faith the hidden realities which we actually receive.²¹ We eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, "not outwardly by the service of our bodies, but inwardly by our faith, and that verily and indeed."²²

timidity. "Let us not then," he says, "think it any boldness either to inquire or to determine of the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament. . . ." (*Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, Works, VIII, 775.*)

¹⁸*Sermon Preached before the Commons, Works, II, 426.*

¹⁹*Answer to M. de la Milletière, Works, I, 8.*

²⁰*The Worthy Communicant, Works, VIII, 47.*

²¹*Reply unto M. Harding's Answer, Works, II, 325f.*

²²*Ibid., 375.*

"Christ's body is not naturally or corporally present within us: therefore much less it is corporally present in the Sacrament"; yet "we say that at that holy table our faith is directed, not unto a fantasy, but unto the very body and blood of Christ, and tasteth it, and feedeth on it; and that as verily and effectually as our body feedeth upon material food. . . . But the thing that we receive with our mouth is not the same thing that we receive with our faith."²³

In short, "The bread is received with our bodily mouth: the body of Christ only with our faith."²⁴ And that, for Jewel, is what a *sacrament* means. As he explains in his *Treatise of the Sacraments*,

"The difference herein [between the body of Christ and the Sacrament of the body] is this: a sacrament is a figure or token: the body of Christ is figured or tokened. The sacrament bread is bread; it is not the body of Christ. The body of Christ is flesh; it is no bread. The bread is beneath, the body is above: the bread is on the table, the body is in heaven: the bread is in the mouth, the body in the heart: . . . the bread feedeth the body, the body feedeth the soul. . . . The Sacrament is eaten as well of the wicked as of the faithful: the body is only eaten of the faithful. . . ."²⁵

It is in his *Apology of the Church of England*, however, that we find perhaps, his fullest statement, emphasizing what he believes more than what he denies:

". . . We affirm that Christ doth truly and presently give his own self in his Sacraments. . . . in his Supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit and may have everlasting life by his cross and blood. And we say not that this is done slightly and coldly, but effectually and truly. For although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by the spirit."²⁶

Every one of these ideas, so essential in the Anglican creed, appears later in the writings of Ussher.

"We acknowledge sacraments to be signs," he asserts, "but bare signs we deny them to be. . . . In the Lord's supper the outward thing, which we see with our eyes, is bread and wine; the inward thing, which we apprehend by faith, is the body and blood of Christ. In the outward part of this mystical action . . . we receive this body and blood but sacramentally; in the inward, that containeth *rem*, the thing itself in it, we

²³*Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 380 and III, 11.

²⁴*Op. cit.*, *Works*, III, 152.

²⁵*A Treatise of the Sacraments*, *Works*, VIII, 39f.

²⁶*Apology of the Church of England*, *Works*, VIII, 295.

receive them really. And consequently the presence of these in the one is relative and symbolical, in the other real and substantial."²⁷

Again he writes to the same effect :

"In the receiving of the blessed Sacrament we are to distinguish between the outward and the inward action of the communicant. In the outward, with our bodily mouth we receive really the visible elements of bread and wine: in the inward, we do by faith really receive the body and blood of our Lord; that is to say, we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, to the spiritual strengthening of our inward man."²⁸

Hardly to be distinguished from the main position of Jewel is that of Hooker. He too explains that the bread and wine are said to be Christ's body and blood because in receiving them we receive his body and blood. In other words, they are instruments by means of which we participate in his body and blood.

"The bread and cup are his body and blood because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the participation of his body and blood ensueth."²⁹ "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament."

The bread is his body and the wine is his blood "only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them."³⁰ None of the ancient Fathers, he reminds his readers, ever conceived of any other form of participation in Christ's body and blood than a mystical participation, so that they cannot be cited in favor either of transubstantiation or consubstantiation.³¹ It naturally follows, then, that the Sacrament does not confer grace *ex opere operato*. Not all who receive it receive God's grace, for it is God who imparts the grace, and not the Sacrament. Sacraments contain *in themselves* no vital efficacy, since they are not physical but *moral* instruments of salvation. Yet because God uses them as vehicles they are not merely signs or memorials but *effectual means*.³²

That this was not only sound Anglican doctrine but also a close approach to Calvin's teaching, Hooker fully realizes. Except for

²⁷*Sermon Preached before the Commons, Works*, II, 428, 427.

²⁸*Answer to a Challenge Made by a Jesuit, Works*, III, 52.

²⁹*Ecc., Pol.*, Bk. V, LXVII, 5.

³⁰*Ibid.*, sect. 6.

³¹*Ibid.*, sect. 11.

³²*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, LVII, 4, 5.

Zwingli and his followers, he writes, there is on all sides, "a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely the *real participation* of Christ and of life in his body and blood by *means of the Sacrament*." Thus it is "the soul of man" which is "the receptacle of Christ's presence."³³

Quite as clearly as Jewel and Hooker, John Cosin understands and expounds the nature of a sacrament:

"The expression of Christ and the Apostle [Paul] is to be understood in a sacramental and mystic sense; and . . . no gross and carnal presence of body and blood can be maintained by them. . . . Now a sacramental expression doth, without any inconvenience, give to the sign the name of the thing signified . . . For the body and blood our our Saviour are not only fitly represented by the elements, but also, by virtue of his institution, really offered to all by them, and so eaten by the faithful mystically and sacramentally. . . . Neither doth it hinder the truth and substance of the thing that this eating of Christ's body is spiritual, and that by it the souls of the faithful and not their stomachs, are fed by the operation of the Holy Ghost. . . ."³⁴

Instead of permitting a mistaken contrast between the real and the spiritual, Cosin asserts that "we all openly profess with St. Bernard that the presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament is spiritual, and *therefore true and real*."³⁵

In full agreement with Ussher, his contemporary, Joseph Hall sums up the Anglican teaching in these words:

"Since therefore the body of Christ cannot be said to be corporally present or received by us, it must needs follow that there is no way of his presence or receipt in the Sacrament but spiritual: which the Church of England hath labored so fully to express both in her holy liturgy and publicly authorized homilies, that there is no one point of divine truth which she hath more punctually and plainly laid down before us. . . . It is bread and wine which we come to receive: that bread and that wine is sacramental. It is our heart wherewith we receive

³³*Op. cit.*, Bk. V, LXVII, 2.

In this period, the only Anglican theologian of any prominence who holds views nearly equivalent to those of Zwingli is John Hales. Declaring that the words of consecration might just as well be omitted, he insists that in the Communion nothing is given but bread and wine, and that the Sacrament is solely a memorial of a long past event, and that Christ's body is not eaten in any sense, literally or metaphorically. [Hales' *Treatise on the Lord's Supper, Works*, (Ed. 1765), I, 52f, 56f.]

³⁴*History of Popish Transubstantiation, Works*, IV, 156.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 170. [*Italics mine.*]

that Sacrament: it is our faith whereby we worthily receive. This receipt and manducation of the flesh of Christ is spiritually done; and by this spiritual receipt of him we are made one with him and he with us. By virtue then of the worthy receipt of this sacramental bread and wine we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ spiritually; and there grows hereby a reciprocal union betwixt Christ and us."³⁶

In Jeremy Taylor's treatment of the meaning of the Eucharist, the prevailing note is one of reverent caution, for his attitude is pastoral rather than theological.

"The bread of the Sacrament," he affirms, "is the life of our soul, and the body of our Lord is now conveyed to us by being the bread of the Sacrament. And if we consider how easy it is to faith, and how impossible it seems to curiosity, we shall be taught confidence and modesty; a resigning of our understanding to the voice of Christ and his Apostles. . . It is hard to do so much violence to our sense as not to think it bread; but it is more unsafe to do so much violence to our faith as not to believe it to be Christ's body."³⁷

Like his predecessors and contemporaries, he emphasizes that the presence of the Lord in the Holy Communion is spiritual and not physical.

"It is strange," is his comment, "that Christians should pertinaciously insist upon carnal significations and natural [i. e. material] effects in sacraments and mysteries, when our blessed Lord hath given us a sufficient light to conduct and secure us from such misapprehensions. 'The flesh profiteth nothing; the words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'"³⁸

But more carefully than most other divines, Taylor makes it plain that to say that a presence is "spiritual" is not to detract from its reality.

"I suppose it to be a mistake," he says, "to think whatsoever is real must be natural [i. e. material]; and it is no less to think spiritual to be only figurative: that's too much, and this is too little."³⁹ "By 'spiritually,'" he explains, "we mean 'present to our spirits only'; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception [i. e. discernment]. . . . We by the 'real spiritual presence' of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace."⁴⁰

³⁶*Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, Works, VIII, 770f.*

³⁷*Great Exemplar, Works, II, 638.*

³⁸*Worthy Communicant, Works, VIII, 14f.*

³⁹*Great Exemplar, Works, II, 640.*

⁴⁰*Real Presence, Works, VI, 17.*

"... The spiritual presence of Christ is the most true, real, and effective. . . . *We* are to the most real purposes and in the proper sense of Scriptures the more real defenders of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; for the spiritual sense is the most real and most true, and most agreeable to analogy and style of Scripture and right reason and common manner of speaking."⁴¹

Taking as his thesis the words, "The presence of Christ is real and spiritual," Taylor gives us this interpretation:

"The doctrine of the Church of England and generally of the Protestants in this article is that after the minister of the holy mysteries hath . . . blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ after a *sacramental*, that is, in a *spiritual, real* manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of his Passion: the wicked receive not Christ, but the bare symbols only; but yet to their hurt, because the offer of Christ is rejected, and they pollute the blood of the covenant by using it as an unholy thing. The result of which doctrine is this: it is bread, and it is Christ's body: it is bread in substance, Christ in the Sacrament; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed as the symbols are; each as they can; Christ as Christ can be given; the bread and wine as they can, and to the same real purposes to which they are designed; and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul as the elements do the body."⁴²

Herbert Thorndike, too, dwells upon the reality of the spiritual presence.

"What reason," he asks, "can be imagined why the material presence of bread and wine in bodily substance should hinder the mystical and spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ, as in a sacrament whereby they are tendered of grace to them that receive?"⁴³

But perhaps Thorndike's chief contribution is to point out that though faith is necessary if we would receive the Sacrament to our benefit, it is not faith which produces the objective presence of Christ. The *consecration* of the elements, through which Christ becomes truly present, is a response by God to the *corporate* faith of the whole Church; though the capacity to *appropriate* what is consecrated arises from the *individual* faith of the recipient.

⁴¹*Real Presence, Works*, VI, 15.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 13f.

⁴³*Of the Laws of the Church, Works*, IV, Pt. i, 22.

"The presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament cannot be attributed to the invisible faith of him that receives; it is necessarily to be attributed to the visible faith of the Church that celebrateth."⁴⁴

In Henry Hammond, as in Taylor, we hear the pastoral note. He is more concerned to tell his hearers what Christ can do for them in the Eucharist than to discuss the metaphysics of the Sacrament. Nowhere in this earlier Anglican literature is there a message more devoutly personal than we find in his treatise *Of Fundamentals*. It is in these words that he writes of the meaning of the Holy Communion to those who faithfully receive it:

"First, as it is the commemorating the death of Christ, so it is the professing ourselves the disciples of the crucified Saviour; and that engageth us to 'take up his cross and follow him,' and not to fall off from him for any temptations, or terrors of death itself, but to resist to blood as Christ did . . . Secondly, as it is the Eucharistical Christian Sacrifice, so it is formally the practising of several acts of Christian virtue: 1. of prayer, of thanksgiving, of all kind of piety towards God; 2. of charity to our brethren, both that spiritual, of 'interceding for all men, for kings, etc.,' and corporal, in the offertory, for the relief of those that want; and 3. the offering up and so consecrating 'ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a holy, lively, acceptable sacrifice' to God, the devoting ourselves to his service all our days. . . . Thirdly, as it is by God designed, and as an institution of his, blessed and consecrated by him into a Sacrament, a holy rite, a means of conveying and communicating to the worthy receiver the benefits of the body and blood of Christ, that pardon of sin and sufficiency of strength and grace which were purchased by his death and typified and consigned [i. e. signified] to us by the sacramental elements, so it is again the ridding us of all discouraging fears, and the animating and obliging of us to make use of that grace which will carry us, if we do not wilfully betray our succors, victoriously through all difficulties."⁴⁵

And in one sentence Jeremy Taylor voices his faith in the rich gifts that Christ offers to those who answer his call:

" . . . This blessed Sacrament is a consigning us to all felicities, because after a mysterious and ineffable manner we receive him who is light and life, the fountain of grace, and the sanctifier of our secular comforts, and the author of holiness and glory."⁴⁶

⁴⁴*Of the Laws of the Church, Works*, IV, Pt. i, 43 (cf. 69).

⁴⁵*Of Fundamentals, Works*, II, 179f.

⁴⁶*Great Exemplar, Works*, II, 637.

*The fullest treatment of the Eucharist in Anglican thought is to be found in Darwell Stone's *The History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, Vol. II.

Biographical Notes

For the convenience of the reader, the principal facts in the lives of the Anglican divines whose works have been considered in this essay are listed below. They appear in the approximate chronological order of their place in history. For readier reference, consult the alphabetical index immediately following.

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Biographical Notes

1

JOHN JEWEL (1522-1571)

- 1522. Born in Devon.
Educated at Merton College, Oxford.
- 1542. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
Soon after accession of Mary (1553), fled to Frankfort.
Later joined the Protestant leader Peter Martyr at Strasbourg.
- 1558. At accession of Elizabeth, returned to England, aiding reformation, with strong Puritan bias.
- 1559. His famous sermon at Paul's Cross.
- 1560. Bishop of Salisbury.
Became the literary apologist of the Elizabethan Settlement.
- 1562. *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, written chiefly against Rome.
Controversy with Thomas Harding for several years.
Acted as chief reviser of Thirty-nine Articles.
- 1571. Death.

2

JOHN WHITGIFT (c.1530-1604)

- c.1530. Born in Lincolnshire.
- 1550. Entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.
- 1554. B. A.
- 1555. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
- 1557. M. A.
- 1560. Ordained. Chaplain to Bishop of Ely and rector of Teversham, Cambridgeshire.
- 1563. B. D. Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity.
- 1567. D. D. Master of Pembroke Hall.
Master of Trinity College.
Regius Professor of Divinity.
- 1570. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University.
- 1571. Dean of Lincoln at the same time.
- 1572. Reelected Vice-Chancellor.
- 1572-1573. Protagonist in the Admonition Controversy.
- 1577. Bishop of Worcester.
- 1583. Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1586. Member of Privy Council.
- 1604. Death.

3

RICHARD HOOKER

(c.1554-1600)

- c.1554. Born near Exeter.
- c.1568. Entered Oxford.
 - 1573. Scholar at Corpus Christi College.
 - 1574. B. A.
 - 1577. M. A. Probationary Fellow of Corpus Christi.
 - 1579. Deputy of the Regius Professor of Hebrew.
- c.1581. Ordained.
 - 1585. Master of the Temple Church, London.
 - 1591. Leaves the Temple Church, to become rector of Boscombe, Wiltshire, and prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral.
 - 1593. Publication of Books I-IV of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.
 - 1594. Rector of Bishopsbourne in Kent.
 - 1597. Publication of Book V.
 - 1600. Death.

4

LANCELOT ANDREWES

(1555-1626)

- 1555. Born in London.
 - Educated at Merchant Taylor's School.
- 1571. To Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.
- 1576. Fellow of Pembroke.
- 1580. Ordained.
- c.1586. Chaplain to Queen and to Archbishop Whitgift.
 - 1588. Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate.
 - 1589. Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
 - Master of Pembroke.
 - 1597. Canon of Westminster.
 - 1601. Dean of Westminster.
 - 1605. Bishop of Chichester.
 - 1609. Bishop of Ely.
 - 1616. Privy Councillor.
 - 1618. Bishop of Winchester.
 - 1626. Death.

5

RICHARD FIELD

(1561-1616)

- 1561. Born in Hertfordshire.
- 1577. Entered Magdalen College, Oxford.
- 1581. B. A.
- 1584. M. A.

- 1592. Divinity Reader in Winchester Cathedral.
- 1594. Divinity Reader at Lincoln's Inn.
Rector of Burghclere.
- 1602. Prebendary of Windsor.
- 1609. Dean of Gloucester.
- 1616. Death.

6

WILLIAM LAUD
(1573-1645)

- 1573. Born at Reading.
- 1589. Entered St. John's College, Oxford.
- 1593. Fellow of St. John's.
- 1594. B. A.
- 1601. Ordained.
- 1603. Chaplain to Earl of Devonshire.
- 1607. Vicar of Stanford in Northamptonshire.
- 1611. President of St. John's College.
- 1616. Dean of Gloucester.
- 1621. Bishop of St. David's.
Resigned Presidency of St. John's.
- 1626. Bishop of Bath and Wells.
- 1628. Bishop of London.
- 1629. Chancellor of Oxford University.
- 1633. Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1642. Impeached by the Long Parliament and imprisoned in the Tower.
- 1645. Executed.

7

JOSEPH HALL
(1574-1656)

- 1574. Born in Leicestershire.
- 1589. Entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
- 1608. Chaplain to Prince Henry.
Vicar of Waltham, Essex.
- 1610. Prebendary in the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton.
- 1616. Dean of Worcester.
- 1618. Represented the King at the Synod of Dort.
- 1627. Bishop of Exeter.
- 1641. Bishop of Norwich.
- 1642. Deprived of estates by Parliament and imprisoned for five months in the Tower.
- 1643. After brief period in his diocese, retired to Higham, near Norwich, where he continued to preach and write.
- 1656. Death.

8

JAMES USSHER

(1581-1656)

- 1581. Born in Dublin.
Educated at University of Dublin.
- 1600. M. A.
Catechetical Lecturer in the University.
- 1601. Ordained.
Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1606. Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral.
- 1607. Regius Professor of Divinity in the University.
- 1621. Bishop of Meath.
- 1625. Archbishop of Armagh.
- 1640. Left Ireland for England.
- 1647. Preacher at Lincoln's Inn.
- 1656. Death.

9

JOHN HALES

(1584-1656)

- 1584. Born at Bath.
Educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
- 1605. Fellow of Merton College.
- 1612. Public Lecturer on Greek.
- 1619. Fellow of Eton College.
- 1639. Chaplain to Laud and Canon of Windsor.
- 1642. Deprived of canonry.
- 1649. Ejected from fellowship.
- 1656. Death.

10

ROBERT SANDERSON

(1587-1663)

- 1587. Born at Sheffield, Yorkshire.
- 1603. Entered Lincoln College, Oxford.
- 1606. B. A. Fellow of Lincoln. Reader in Logic.
- 1608. M. A.
- 1611. Ordained.
- 1616. B. D.
- 1618. Rector of Wyberton.
- 1619. Rector of Boothby Pagnell.
- 1629. Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral.
- 1631. Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King.
- 1633. Rector of Muston, Leicestershire.
- 1636. D. D.
- 1642. Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.
- 1644. Deprived of his living at Boothby.
- 1648. Deprived of his professorship.
- 1660. Restored to professorship.
Bishop of Lincoln.
- 1663. Death.

11

JOHN BRAMHALL
(1594-1663)

- 1594. Born at Pontefract in Yorkshire.
- 1608. Entered Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.
- 1612. B. A.
- 1616. M. A. Ordained.
- 1617. Rector of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
- 1618. Rector of Kilvington, York.
- 1623. B. D. Prebendary of Ripon.
- 1630. D. D.
- 1633. Prebendary of York.
To Ireland as chaplain to Viscount Wentworth.
Archdeacon of Meath, Ireland.
- 1634. Bishop of Derry.
Active in reformation of the Church in Ireland.
- 1641. Impeached for treason by the Irish Parliament and imprisoned for a time.
Released by order of the King.
- 1643-1644. Active on King's behalf in England during the Civil War.
- 1644-1648. In exile in Belgium and elsewhere.
- 1648. Returned to Ireland for brief and dangerous visit.
- 1648-1660. In exile again.
- 1660. Returned to England.
Archbishop of Armagh.
- 1663. Death.

12

JOHN COSIN
(1595-1672)

- 1595. Born at Norwich.
- 1610. Entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- 1614. B. A.
- 1617. M. A.
- c.1621. Ordained.
- 1622. University preacher.
- 1624. Prebendary of Durham.
- 1625. Archdeacon of East Riding of Yorkshire.
- 1626. B. D. Rector of Brancepath.
- 1630. D. D.
- 1635. Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
- 1639. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University.
- 1640. Dean of Peterborough.
- 1644. Ejected from Peterhouse.
Began fifteen years' exile in France, during which he was royal chaplain
for Protestants in household of Queen Henrietta Maria.
- 1660. Bishop of Durham.
- 1661. One of the leading revisers of the Prayer Book of 1662.
- 1672. Death.

13
HERBERT THORNDIKE
(1598-1672)

1598. Born in Lincolnshire.
1613. Entered Trinity College, Cambridge.
1617. B. A.
1620. M. A. Fellow of Trinity.
1636-
1640. Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral.
1640. Hebrew Lecturer at Trinity.
1646. Withdrew from Cambridge.
1661. Reinstated as Fellow of Trinity.
Prebendary of Westminster.
Active in revision of the Prayer Book.
1672. Death.

14
WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH
(1602-1644)

1602. Born at Oxford.
1618. Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford.
1620. B. A.
1628. Fellow of Trinity.
Converted to Roman Catholic Church and retired to seminary at Douai.
Persuaded by his godfather Laud to leave.
1631. Returned to Oxford.
1634. Renounced Church of Rome.
1637. Published *Religion of Protestants*.
1638. Ordained. Became prebendary of Salisbury and chancellor of the diocese.
1642. A zealous royalist during the Civil War.
1643. Taken prisoner at siege of Arundel Castle.
1644. Death.

15
HENRY HAMMOND
(1605-1660)

1605. Born at Chertsey, in Surrey.
Educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford.
1622. B. A.
1625. M. A. Fellow of Magdalen.
1629. Ordained.
1633. Resigned Fellowship and given living of Penshurst, Kent.
1639. D. D.
1643. Archdeacon of Chichester.
1645. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Public Orator.
Chaplain to Charles I.
1647. Deprived of living and imprisoned.
1650. After release, lived in privacy in Worcestershire.
1660. Death, just on the eve of his preferment to see of Worcester.

16

JEREMY TAYLOR

(1613-1667)

- 1613. Born in Cambridge.
- 1626. Entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- 1633. Ordained. Fellow of Gonville and Caius.
Protégé of Laud.
- 1635. Fellow of All Souls', Oxford.
Chaplain to Laud and to Charles I.
- 1638. Rector of Uppingham in Rutlandshire.
- 1643. Rector of Overstone in Northamptonshire.
- 1650. As private chaplain to Earl of Carbery in retirement at Golden Grove.
- 1655. Carmarthenshire, Wales.
- 1658. Appointed lecturer at Lisburn and chaplain to Lord Conway at Portmore in Ireland.
- 1660. Bishop of Down and Connor.
Vice-Chancellor of University of Dublin.
- 1667. Death.

17

BENJAMIN WHICHCOTE

(1609-1683)

- 1609. Born at Stoke in Shropshire.
- 1626. Entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the seat of Puritanism.
- 1629. B. A.
- 1633. M. A. Fellow of Emmanuel College.
- 1636. Ordained. Shortly afterwards appointed Sunday afternoon lecturer (preacher) at Trinity Church, Cambridge, a post he held for twenty years.
- 1640. B. D.
- 1643. Given living of North Cadbury, Somerset.
- 1644. Provost of King's College, Cambridge.
- 1649. D. D. Rector of Milton, Cambridgeshire.
- 1650. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University.
- 1655. Consulted by Cromwell on the question of extending tolerance to the Jews.
- 1660. His Puritan views lost him the provostship. In retirement for two years at Milton.
- 1662. On complying with the Act of Uniformity, he was given the living of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London.
- 1666. His church burned in the great fire. Returned to Milton for two years.
- 1668. Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry, London.
- 1683. Death. Regarded as the founder of the important school of Cambridge Platonists.

18

EDWARD STILLINGFLEET
(1635-1699)

- 1635. Born at Cranbourne, Dorset.
- 1652. Graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge.
- 1653. Fellow of St. John's.
- 1659. Vicar at Sutton, Bedfordshire.
Published the *Irenicum*.
- 1665. Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, London.
- 1667. Prebendary of St. Paul's.
- 1668. Chaplain to Charles II.
- 1670. Canon of St. Paul's.
- 1678. Dean of St. Paul's.
- 1688. One of the seven bishops resisting the Declaration of Indulgence.
- 1689. Bishop of Worcester.
- 1699. Death.

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